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# PROVINCIAL PICTURES

BY BRUSH AND PEN:

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AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE BOSTONIAN SOCIETY, IN THE  
COUNCIL CHAMBER OF THE OLD STATE-HOUSE,  
BOSTON, MAY 11, 1886.

BY

DANIEL GOODWIN, JR.,

MEMBER OF THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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## PROCEEDINGS.

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THE regular meeting of the Bostonian Society was held at the Council Chamber, Old State-House, Boston, May 11, 1886. Mr. Curtis Guild, president, in the chair; Mr. Wm. Clarence Burrage, secretary.

After the election of new members and the reading of the regular reports, the president called attention to a large number of gifts and loans. Among them was the original report of the executors of the Huguenot councillor, James Bowdoin, consisting of fifty-five pages and, signed by the executors, Gov. James Bowdoin, James Pitts, and Thomas Flucker. Also a book containing hundreds of autographs of early Bostonians, with original deeds, bonds, receipts, and letters, collected by Daniel Goodwin, Jr.

A pane of glass from the Royall House, Medford, with original signature of Isaac Royall, written with a diamond; a photograph of the house formerly occupied by Daniel Webster, 37 Somerset Street; a gilded figure of Mercury which stood over the stores of Hon. F. W. Lincoln and C. G. Hutchinson, and said to be the oldest emblematical sign in Boston; an oil portrait of Gen. Benj. F. Butler, painted in 1850; a large number of articles in pottery, china, and wood, including the Ichabod Nichols punch

bowl from Salem; an original prescription by Dr. Joseph Warren shortly before his death to James Pitts, in 1775.

There was also an exhibition of old oil portraits in the Council Chamber:

Susannah Lindall, painted by Smibert in 1728.

James Bowdoin, by Badger in 1747.

James Pitts and Elizabeth Bowdoin Pitts, by Blackburn in 1757.

Gen. Wm. Brattle, by Copley in 1756.

Gen. Henry Dearborn, by Gilbert Stuart in 1812.

Samuel Pitts of Harvard, class of 1830, crayon by Frederick E. Wright.

Also photographs of Smibert's portraits of John and Elizabeth Lindall Pitts, 1728, and Copley's portraits of Samuel Pitts, Jonathan Mountfort, Gov. Moses Gill, Stephen Browne, and Mrs. Mary Barron Browne, all painted about 1770.

President Guild introduced Mr. Daniel Goodwin, Jr., of the Chicago Historical Society, who delivered an address entitled "Provincial Pictures by Brush and Pen." Mr. Guild said Bostonians were always glad to welcome with open hand and warm heart any member of the Chicago Historical Society who might honor them with their company and their assistance.

## PROVINCIAL PICTURES.

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SMIBERT! BLACKBURN! COPLEY! STUART!

It may be that somewhere—among some people—the sound of these magic names may fall dull and meaningless, but in the old state-house of Boston—or within the boundaries of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut—nay, anywhere on the Atlantic slope from Casco Bay to Independence Hall at Philadelphia, the bare mention of those old artists calls up a luminous cloud of pictures most dear, most venerated, most exhilarating to the native American heart.

At Smibert's name there rises upon the imagination a cloud of colonial governors, councilors, judges, clergymen, and their wives and daughters from 1728 to 1750, arrayed in wigs and laces, drinking healths to George II and his good queen Caroline, at peace with themselves and the world.

Blackburn succeeds and for fifteen years with faithful pencil portrays the same class of peaceful, successful, and happy colonists. The vision of George II, Queen Caroline, and the wise Walpole fades away, and then rise before our mind the excited and stormy political kings of thought. The Otises, the Adames, the Warrens, the Bowdoins, the Pittses, the Winthrops, the Dexters, the liberty men and women of the reign of George III, both in the colonies and in the mother-country, struggle into action from the Copley canvasses in Faneuil Hall and the National Gallery on Trafalgar Square, and the ancestral homes of American patriots.

Then in bewildering chaos there rushes upon the brain the wild medley of Gilbert Stuart, whose bold pencil gives us in colors never excelled in ancient or modern portraiture the flesh tints and speaking features of Washington, Lee, St. Clair, Knox, Dearborn, Brooks, Clarkson, Coffin, Decatur, Gates, Mifflin, Perry, Strong, Sullivan, and other warriors of that great era, until we seem to hear the roar of artillery from ship and shore at Bunker Hill, and leap from battle to battle until the glorious consummation at Yorktown.

Following them and "trailing clouds of glory as they go" are the illustrious founders of the Constitution, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, and Jay, and stopping not his magic pencil until another generation had settled the experiment of a free republican government, he left us the shining eloquent eyes of Fisher Ames, Samuel Dexter, Edward Everett, and Daniel Webster.

From 1728, when Smibert here commenced his rare work, to 1828, when Gilbert Stuart laid down his brush, these four painters transferred from a transitory theatre the forms and features of the leaders of a marvelous century, and cold indeed must be the American or British heart that throbs not with a quicker and fuller pulse at the thought of their great gifts to us and the coming generations.

MR. PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE BOSTONIAN SOCIETY:

FOUR of the pictures which are exhibited to you today were painted in this city long before the Revolution. They have been absent for one hundred years. During most of that time they have hung in the old Brinley mansion at Tyngsboro, where they were taken about 1786, by Hon. John Pitts, who was speaker of your Assembly in the other end of this State House in 1778.

Mr. Pitts was married on the 1st of June, 1779, to Mary Tyng, the only child of Judge John Tyng, who was for many years a leading member of the House and Council, and one of the chief judges after the Revolution.\* He owned an estate of several thousand acres of land on the Merrimac, in Dunstable, and gave it the name of Tyngsboro. A conspicuous actor in the exciting drama of the Revolution from 1773 to 1785, Mr. Pitts had earned the repose of a country life, and he took with him to that beautiful estate these pictures of his grandfather, John Pitts, the first settler, and his wife, Elizabeth Lindall, painted by Smibert about 1730; of his father, James Pitts, and of his mother, Elizabeth Bowdoin Pitts, painted by Blackburn in 1757; of his grandfather, James Bowdoin, by Joseph Badger in 1747; and of his father's grandmother, Susannah Lindall, by Smibert about 1728. After the lapse of 100 years, Mr. Thomas Pitts of Detroit—with one exception the only living representative bearing his name known to us in the fourth generation from James

\* Diary of Rev. Ebenezer Bridge, second minister of Chelmsford: "1st June, 1779. Dined at Judge Tyngs, per invitation, and in ye afternoon married Hon. John Pitts and Miss Tyng, dr. of ye Judge, fee a Johannes gold. Hon. James Bowdoin and wife with other company there."

Pitts, the councillor—has endeavored to make a colonial collection of the family portraits of his ancestors, and these oil portraits have taken up their line of march for that distant West which was scarcely known of men when the originals of these pictures were living.

Thanks to this Society, there is no spot where the picture of the Councillor James Pitts could so appropriately be exhibited. Where once stood his mansion now stands the Howard Athenæum. The old Brattle-Street church, where he was baptized in 1710, married in 1732, and where he worshiped until the Revolution, has long since passed away. The warehouses, the stores, the markets he helped to erect, the white-winged vessels he and his sons sent to all parts of the world, no longer exist; but here stands the council-table at which he sat and here are the same walls which echoed his earnest whig sentiments when all America was trembling with excitement in the struggles which preceded the birth of a great republic.

The name of his father-in-law, James Bowdoin, whose picture is exhibited here for the first time, is well known to local antiquarians, but to the great mass of our countrymen has been obscured by the illustrious career of his son James, the governor, and his grandson James, the minister to Spain and chief patron of Bowdoin College.

In the sketches I am privileged to place before you to-day, I beg to begin, not with that grandest drama of the world's history, the birth of the American Republic, but two hundred years ago, at LaRochelle, on the sunny western shore of France, and at the craggy harbor of Lyme Regis, on the southwestern coast of England. In those romantic and beautiful sea-coast towns were passed the early play-days of James Bowdoin, the Huguenot, and John Pitts, the Puritan, whose painted forms look down upon us from these council walls.

Mr. Pitts was born in 1668, in those dark days when the



awful reaction from the principles of Milton and Locke, Hampden and Sidney, had replaced the Stuarts on the throne, and Charles II was intensifying all the crimes of his father.

Mr. Bowdoin was born in 1676, when Louis XIV, at the height of his grandeur, kept the English king and his ministers paid pensioners to minister to his own ambition and left him free to prosecute his war upon Spain, that great empire which had already commenced to fall to pieces. Bowdoin was born in that beautiful harbor which came into possession of England's king, Henry II., as a dowry of his wife Eleanor, but which had long since passed back into the possession of the French. His father, Pierre Baudouin, was, by tradition, an educated and successful physician.

In 1598, at the neighboring sea-coast town of Nantes, under the reign of Henry IV, was promulgated that famous edict which pretended to secure to the Protestants of France the freedom to worship God in their own way, to maintain schools and universities, and to hold civil and military office. For nearly one hundred years, despite the adverse genius of Richelieu, Mazarin, and Colbert, the Huguenots developed and grew, until on the 18th of October, 1685, the corrupt and designing Louis XIV procured the revocation of the edict of liberty, and more than four hundred thousand of the best citizens of France were driven beyond her territory, happier far, though bereft of country, than the great myriad which was tortured and massacred at home.

Dr. Bowdoin with his wife and four children first fled to Ireland and then to Casco Bay, where they as narrowly escaped from the tomahawk of the savages of the woods as they had from the swords of the savages of Louis XIV. The family finally settled in this city in 1690, when the subject of our text was in his 15th year. The recent

accession of William and Mary to the throne of Gt. Britain had renewed, or more properly it might be said, begun the prosperous career of that great empire on the broad ocean of constitutional liberty. Her Colonies shared her prosperity, and young Bowdoin, spared from religious frenzy in France and the fires which consumed their first home at Casco Bay, was enabled in fifty years to amass a fortune of more than £600,000, old tenor, a fortune at that time quite unprecedented in America. The highest honors of the Province were bestowed upon him. He was overseer of the poor, justice, and of the quorum, and member of the king's council.

Mr. Bowdoin's family life must have been particularly interesting. He was first married about 1706, and was then a supporter of the old French church and also of the famous Brattle-Street or Manifesto Church, organized about 1698. Of this marriage survived him a daughter, Mary Bayard, who became the mother of Mrs. Gen. St. Clair, and a son, William, who was a prominent citizen and was father of Sarah, who married her cousin, James Bowdoin, both of whom, though dying childless, will be known for untold generations by the Bowdoin boys as patrons of the learned college at Brunswick. She is also remembered by many of your citizens as the wife of that grand old hero of the Revolution, Henry Dearborn, whose portrait, by Gilbert Stuart, looks down on us from the south wall of this chamber. By a strange coincidence this rare work of art will go to our great Northwest with the Bowdoin and Pitts portraits, and will find its home in the Calumet Club of Chicago, as a gift from some generous members of the Commercial Club.\*

In 1714, Mr. Bowdoin married for his second wife Hannah Pordage, a descendant for several generations of Pilgrim and Puritan families. Her mother was Elizabeth

\* See Appendix.

Lynde, a sister of Chief-Justice Benjamin Lynde, daughter of Simon Lynde and Hannah Newdigate. Mrs. Bowdoin was first cousin of Chief-Justice Benjamin Lynde, who presided at the trial of Capt. Preston for the Boston massacre of 1770. The first daughter of this marriage, Elizabeth Bowdoin—half French, half New England—was born April 25, 1717. Her father was then rich, benevolent, social, and happy, and while she is growing up ready to become the bride of James Pitts in her 16th year, let us go back to the lovely sea-coast of County Dorset, England, in 1694.

Lyme Regis in the olden times of Merrie England was the home of kings. It was chartered in the thirteenth century, and was a port of great importance in the reign of Edward III., for whom it provided three ships to assist in the siege of Calais in 1346.

Over this borough in 1694, during the reign of William and Mary, presided a mayor named Baruth Pitts. I have never sought to trace his genealogy. I have his original manuscript letter written to his son John, who was tossing on the Downs on board the *Sea-Horse* of London, ready for a favorable wind to sail from Plymouth Sound to New England, and I know from that letter and from the kind of son he sent here that his patent of nobility came direct from the God of nature, stamped and sealed by the hand of the infinite Father of all men. To those of you who are familiar with the letters of Gov. John Winthrop to his son, published in this city in 1864-7, by his illustrious descendant, you could easily imagine this letter to have been penned by the old Governor himself—the quaint purity of style, the absolute trusting piety of the christian, and the sagacious mind for business alike appear in both. But let the letter speak for itself:

(Superscribed): For my Sonne John Pitts, aboard the *Sea-horse* of London in Plymouth Sound. In Plymouth.

(Endorsed): My dear Father's letter.

LYME, 19th April, 1694.

SONNE JOHN:—I received yo<sup>rs</sup> of the 13h instant from the Downs, and we are all glad of your welfare there and hope you will have a fair wind in due time to carry yo<sup>u</sup> to yo<sup>r</sup> designed port; yo<sup>r</sup> brother or I will write M<sup>c</sup> Micholl as soon as you leave England; and I will do my utmost about Sontor's bills, if he be returned in the Virginia fleet; yo<sup>r</sup> brother hath a letter from Mr. Quattios with bills on Mr. Ford of London, accepted for 250<sup>rs</sup>, the full ballance of yo<sup>r</sup> acct with which he will pay every one what is their due as soon as the money is received, which will be in about 24 days more, the bills being drawn at 60 days; I advised him to retain 9<sup>rs</sup> of Col. James' ballance till he delivered Mr. Lutar's bills, which he intends to do. If you can have an opportunity to come from Plym<sup>o</sup> hither we shall be glad to see you. Whether Mr. Edwards hath ordered his goods at Plym<sup>o</sup> for yo<sup>u</sup> we are not certain, but Mr. Doracott (in whose custody it is) can acquaint you, he having an order about it; Col. James would send some goods there were he sure you would stop long enough to take it in, but we give him no encouragement.

If you cannot have the time to come for Lyme, our prayers shall be for you that God would preserve and keep you in safety in your voyage. God is the best convoy and the safest hope, who will not fail to preserve those that commit themselves into his hands. It is good to look unto him in all cases and at all times, to behold his wonders in the deep waters and to fear before him, to pray to his name and to put our whole trust and confidence in him, who is good to all that fear him and cast their care upon him. Mind God every day and he will take care of you every day. Especially spend your time well on the Sabbath day that your example may encourage others to do the like, which will be acceptable unto God (read the 58 Isiah, 13. 14 verses to this end). Let your first thoughts be upon God every morning to pray to him, and your last thoughts every evening to commit yourself to him; this is the way to engage an omnipotent power for your protection. Seriously weigh these things and practice them, for

it is for your life. And as you intend to continue some time in New England, we desire the Lord to guide and direct you in all your ways and to preserve you from all evil, that in due time we may see each others faces with comfort. Let God's glory be your principal end in all your undertakings and then God will order all things for your present and future good, into whose hands we commit you, desiring the Lord to bless you in soule and body and rest,

Yo<sup>r</sup> loving father,

BAR: PITTS.

In 1694, only four years later than his Huguenot friend, John Pitts arrived and settled in Boston; and it is not unworthy of notice that the advent of these two young men destined to become such leaders in the new Province occurred just at a pivotal period in the world's history.

It was in this year and the very month of the year when John Pitts sailed from Plymouth that the Bank of England was chartered, and that system of banking inaugurated which has revolutionized the habits and customs of the whole civilized world, stimulating industry, manufactures, and commerce, until today the poorest laborer in our midst enjoys many luxuries unknown in 1694 to the royal families of Europe.

It was in 1691 that the province of Massachusetts was chartered by William and Mary, of blessed memory.

It was in 1690 that Locke completed his remarkable work on "Civil Government," which was reprinted in many editions in America.

It was an era when men began to think and to say and to print the idea that the STATE ought to exist for the citizen and not exclusively for the king.

On the 30th of September, 1696, there was recorded in liber 14 of Suffolk deeds a power of attorney from John Audlie, County Devon, Eng., to John Pitts, to take charge of certain property he had inherited here. It recites: "Now, in consideration of the trust I have in John Pitts

of Lyme Regis, now resident of Boston, N. E., I make my friend John Pitts my attorney. I set my hand and seal, and Baruth Pitts, Mayor of the Burrough of Lyme Regis, hath set his seal sexto die August, 1695. John Audlic."

The young merchant made rapid progress, for on the 10th of September, 1697, he married Elizabeth Lindall, the daughter of James and Susannah Lindall. And here I call your attention to the portrait of that early dame of New England, painted by Smibert about 1728, at least two generations older than your matchless professor's "Dorothy Q." She died in 1733, at an advanced age.

From the marriage of John Pitts and Elizabeth Lindall came Elizabeth, who married Hugh Hall and whose son, Pitts Hall, graduated at Harvard in 1747; Sarah, who married Wm. Stoddard; a son, Thomas Pitts, who graduated at Harvard in 1727; and lastly a son, JAMES, the councillor, whose portrait by Blackburn is here today. He was born in 1710, and on the 15th of October was baptized by Dr. Benjamin Colman in the Brattle-Street Church. He entered Harvard in 1727, and was placed second in rank in a class of thirty-four. In John Quincy Adams' "Life of John Adams," page 14, he says:

"The distinction of ranks at Harvard University was observed with such punctilious nicety that, in the arrangement of every class, precedence was assigned to every individual according to the dignity of his birth, or to the rank of his parents. This custom continued until the class which entered in 1769, when the substitution of the alphabetical order in the names and places of the members of each class may be considered as a pregnant indication of the republican principles which were rising to an ascendancy over those which had prevailed during the colonial state of the country."

The only predecessor of James Pitts in the class of 1731 was Judge Russell, and he was followed by a Sparhawk, a



Gookin, a Sewall, and a Cushing. In the class of 1745, numbering twenty-four, his brother-in-law James Bowdoin also ranked second, his father having been for many years one of the king's council. Among Mr. Pitts' college-mates were Gov. Jonathan Belcher, Chief-Justice Peter Oliver, Prof. John Winthrop—the last his warm co-patriot in the council for many years.\*

Just before James Pitts graduated, his father died, March 31, 1731, leaving him, in his twenty-first year, sole heir to a fortune and an established business. On the 26th of October, 1732, he married Elizabeth Bowdoin, in her sixteenth year, the beautiful daughter of the councillor, James Bowdoin, and Hannah Pordage. Bowdoin was the wealthiest man in New England at that time, and his connection must have been of great advantage to Mr. Pitts, financially and socially. In March, 1733, Mr. Pitts became sole executor and principal legatee of his grandmother Susannah, wife of James Lindall and afterward wife of John Jacobs, who left a large estate. September 8, 1747, Mr. Bowdoin died, leaving a will, appointing James Pitts, James Bowdoin, and Thomas Flucker his executors.

On the 31st of May, 1757, these three executors, all of whom were then or shortly afterward members of the council, filed their final report with the Hon. Thomas Hutchinson, judge of probate for the County of Suffolk. The report bears the signature of James Bowdoin, James Pitts, and Thomas Flucker in three different places, and loses no interest from the fact that so soon thereafter the two James were among the leaders of the patriot cause, while their brother-in-law Flucker, as secretary of the province, and Hutchinson, as governor, were conspicuous on the side of George III. In the name of Mr. Wm. Bridge Brinley, a descendant of both Councillors Bowdoin

\* In some of the following pages the author has drawn freely upon his own printed but not published memorial of James Pitts and his sons.

and Pitts, I have the pleasure of giving you this remarkable executors' report, which will repay a careful examination. It contains fifty pages of entries, amounting to over £600,000 old tenor, or £82,875 sterling—about £30,000 sterling more than Gov. John Hancock inherited from his uncle Thomas. It begins with a division of £74,319 of personal property, etc. James Bowdoin (the future governor) is first charged with £5166 for household furniture, wearing apparel, and three negroes; £1238 for four wheel-chaise, etc.; £1388 for 504 oz. of silver-plate.

Wm. Bowdoin is charged £1828 for coach, etc., *coined silver*, etc.; £1388 for 504 oz. of plate.

James Pitts and Thomas Flucker are each charged £694 for 252 oz. of silver-plate, and Mary Bayard's children are charged with the same amount. Then £37,000 worth of real estate in the County of Suffolk are divided by partition deed.

In the list of £600,000 of assets are many curious items, for example: Nov. 4, 1747, cash found in the pocket of J. B., £2. Ditto in the escritoire and chest, £4635.16.4. The great mass of assets are of bonds and mortgages. There are several hundred of those by men in all parts of the province, varying from £10 to £15,000, all admitting an indebtedness in "lawful silver money of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," conditioned for the payment "of so many ounces of coined silver of sterling alloy, or of so many ounces of coined standard gold, both Troy weight." Among the assets are the rents of  $\frac{7}{8}$ ths of Long Wharf, owned by him.

The credit side of the account shows many items of interest touching the customs of the time, for instance: the funeral expenses amount to over £5000, for the coffin and coffin furniture, for rings, plain and stone, for coaches, for wigs, for hats, for shoes, attendance, etc. Among the items are legacies for Andrew Lemercier, pastor of the



French Church, and Dr. Cooper, of Brattle-Street Church, and Rev. Mr. Tuttle, minister of Bedford; for education of George Leslie at college; to John Osborne for balance of account with the committee of war; to Dr. Wm. Bullfinch, for medical services; and to Benjamin Pratt, Wm. Story, James Otis, and James Otis, Jr., for legal services; to Jacob Wendell,\* overseer of the poor of Boston, and to the poor of the French Church; and to Joseph Badger, for drawing the picture which we have here today.

Mr. Bowdoin died one week later than the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Colman, the originator of the Brattle-Street Church, and who was his pastor for fifty years.†

The first steps toward organizing this celebrated church was in 1697, and in the words of President Quincy (History of Harvard Univer., 1-132) was the first fruit of that religious liberty which the charter of Wm. and Mary introduced into Massachusetts. Brattle Close was deeded to the new society in 1698, and the new meeting-house erected in 1699. James Bowdoin and John Pitts were among the first members of this manifesto church, and continued so the balance of their lives. I have here the original receipt from Thomas Brattle to John Pitts for £15 for pew No. 22 in this church, dated April 30, 1700.

It is curious to notice that when the first church was destroyed, and a new one erected in 1772, the sons of the first settlers were among the donors; Gov. Bowdoin giving £200 and James Pitts £100.

\* Great-grandfather of Prof. Holmes.

† "Rev. Dr. Coleman's funeral, Sept. 2, 1747. A vast procession at ye funeral; 't was observ'd yt 66 couple, being ye males of ye Chh. and ye Colleague Pastor in deep mournz before ye corps—Six Senior Pastors. Pall-bearers with hat-bands down; 100 couple of mourners and men—among ye latter ye Council—a grt no. of Ministers, 4 Episcopal, among wc Mr. Hooper, newly from England; 46 couple of women; 4 coaches, in ye first of wc ye Governor; 8 4-wheel chaises and 7 common."—Rev. E. Parkman's MSS. Diary, 14 N.-E. Gen. Reg., 214.

In addition to his private business and the settlement of the estates of his father and grandmother, the management of the estate of James Bowdoin brought upon Mr. Pitts an immense labor. Mr. Bowdoin was chief member of the Kennebec Company, who owned many thousand acres of land on the Kennebec River, which, with its fall of 1000 feet in 150 miles, presented a grand field for improvement. At that time, under George II, the colonies were at peace with England, and the warmest cordiality existed between them. The crafty Walpole and the good queen, Caroline, always carried out the doctrine of expediency and keeping the nation at peace. The queen died in 1737, and Walpole resigned in 1742.

The merchants of Boston had for years carried on a profitable trade with foreign nations, and had grown wealthy and lived in luxury and ease. Boston was then the largest and finest city in America, and larger and better built than any city in England, except London. They were in constant communication with the mother country, and read the books then coming out by the old English and Scotch worthies. Mr. John Oldmixon, of England, published in 1741 a second edition of his "British Empire in America," in which he says:

"Conversation in Boston is as polite as in most of the cities and towns in England, many of their merchants having traded in Europe, and those that stayed at home having the advantage of society with travellers; so that a gentleman from London would almost think himself at home at Boston, when he observes the number of people, their houses, their furniture, their tables, their dress, and conversation, which, perhaps, is as splendid and showy as that of the most considerable tradesman in London. Upon the whole, Boston is the most flourishing town for trade and commerce in the English America. Near 600 sail of ships have been laden here in a year for Europe and the

British Plantations. The goodness of the pavement may compare with most in London."

They were deeply imbued with the theories and teachings of government of Milton, Sidney, Hampden, Pym, and Locke.

It will require little imagination to fill up a lovely picture of the Pitts home from 1732 to 1760. Youth, health, wealth, success, college acquaintances, social life of the best and purest kind, and characters of inflexible virtue and independence, as exhibited in their future public life, must have combined to make an ideal home.

In 1753, their oldest son, John, born in 1738, entered Harvard, and his father at forty-three and his mother at thirty-six kept alive the freshness of life that needed not, in their case, any renewal. Among his college-mates were John Adams, John Hancock, John Wentworth, David Sewall, S. H. Parsons, and Jonathan Trumbull. What a galaxy of stars! How Grandmother Bowdoin Pitts, only thirty-six years old when her boy was a freshman, and only forty when he was a graduate, must have enjoyed the college days of those boys! This beautiful portrait of her by Blackburn was painted in 1757, the year her son John graduated.

All of the sons entered into business with their father. They are all spoken of as merchants, engaged in building and buying ships and using them in foreign trade with the Bermudas and other places.\* James Pitts was for many years treasurer of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge among the Indians. I have a copy of a bond for £2000 by John Kneeland and Nathaniel Cary to him

\* There is an interesting account of the Bermudas in "Harper's Magazine," December, 1873, page 484, and a beautiful picture of Pitts Bay. It says that during our Revolution their sympathies were warmly enlisted in favor of the colonies and states; that a large amount of gunpowder disappeared mysteriously from there in 1775, two months after the battle of Bunker Hill. Probably the Pitts family could have explained its change of base.

as such treasurer, in 1773, conditioned for the payment to him of one-third of the whole estate of Richard Martyn, under his will, for the use of that society.

James Pitts' residence for many years was on the spot where the Howard Atheneum now stands. It is said by Drake & Bridgman that Mr. Pitts' Boston home was a favorite meeting-place for the patriotic clubs. He and all his boys were Sons of Liberty. John Adams, in his diary, February 15, 1771, speaks of "going to Mr. Pitts' to meet the Kennebec Company—Bowdoin, Gardiner, Hallowell, and Pitts.\* There I shall hear philosophy and politics in perfection from H.; high-flying, high church, high State from G.; sedate, cool moderation from Bowdoin; AND WARM, HONEST, FRANK WHIGGISM FROM PITTS."

January 10, 1771, he says: "Dined at John Erving's with Gray, Pitts, Hancock, Adams [Samuel], Townsend, and others."

June 30, 1772, he says: "It has been my fate to be acquainted, in the way of my business, with a number of very rich men—Gardiner, Bowdoin, Pitts, Hancock, Rowe, Lee, Sargent, Hooper, and Doane. There is not one of those who derives more pleasure from his property than I do from mine; my little farm, and stock, and cash, afford me as much satisfaction as all their immense tracts, extensive navigation, sumptuous buildings, their vast sums at interest, and stocks in trade yield to them."

At the hospitable board of James Pitts must often have been seen the form of Samuel Adams. There was through all their lives the most cordial friendship between the Pitts and that old hero, and among the subscribers to pay his debts are the names of Hon. James Pitts and Hon. James Bowdoin, James Pitts, Jr., Richard Dana, Samuel Dexter, Dr. Joseph Warren, John Erving, and John Hancock.

\* Both Gardiner and Hallowell belonged to the government party and were proscribed and banished in 1778.

Mr. Pitts, after filling many inferior offices, such as overseer of the poor, justice of the peace, visitor of schools, etc., was elected to the highest in the gift of the people on the 28th of May, 1766, that of a member of the council. Under the charter of the Massachusetts Colony, the governor was appointed by the British king, and the people elected a house of representatives—only men of property and, up to 1764, only members of some christian church could vote; so that three-quarters of the community was excluded, and the better elements of society controlled these elections. This annual election was an important day in old Boston. The church members and property owners met in a body, and, before voting, had divine service and a sermon from some minister selected by the selectmen of Boston, a body of seven men, to whom the affairs of the city were committed. At the annual meeting in May, 1775, after the king and parliament had legislated out of office the old council and judges of the colony, Samuel Langdon, the president of Harvard University, preached the annual sermon from the text: "And I will restore the judges as at the first, and thy councilors as at the beginning; afterward thou shalt be called the city of righteous, the faithful city." The house of representatives, elected directly by the people, sitting with the last council, elected a new council, which was limited to twenty-eight, and these two houses and the governor constituted the government for the colony as a unit, the governor having the right to veto or negative the election of any councilor. These twenty-eight councilors were to the State what the United States senate is to the United States, or the house of lords is to Great Britain.

From May, 1634, to August, 1774, these two houses sat apart, and were coördinate and coequal branches, the assent of both being necessary to make a law.

To this high position in the State, Mr. Pitts and his

brothers-in-law Bowdoin and Thomas Flucker were, for many years, annually elected by the house of representatives and the outgoing council, and for several years it chanced that one of the twenty-eight was Judge Gamaliel Bradford,\* grandfather to Mrs. Samuel Pitts.

The stamp act which had excited the people of New England almost to frenzy, and had nearly brought on a revolution in fact, as it did in spirit, was repealed by the king and parliament on the 18th of March, 1766. The intelligence reached Boston on the 16th of May, and was received with great manifestations of joy and a celebration. At the annual election on the 6th of May, Samuel Adams, Thomas Cushing, James Otis, and John Hancock were chosen representatives for Boston. This was the opening of the political career of the famous John Hancock, Samuel Adams, and Joseph Hawley,† and in the same general court began the political official career of the patriot, James Pitts. The general court, filled with the spirit of liberty, dropped the crown officers, five Tories

\* Hon. Gamaliel Bradford was a great-grandson of William B., second governor of Plymouth Colony. He shared largely in all the duties of the public offices in that town. He was a friend of education, and did much toward the maintenance and improvement of the public schools. He for several years represented the town in the legislature, and during the trying period from 1764 to 1770, was a member of the executive council. He was for many years judge of the county court. He also held command of the company of militia in his native town, and, about 1750, was raised to the command of the regiment with the rank of colonel. In his declining years, he witnessed with patriotic ardor the uprising of the sons of liberty, and, though his heart was with them, he was unable by active exertion to assist in the crowning glories of true-born freemen. He died in Duxbury, April 24, 1778, having nearly reached his seventy-fourth year. (Winsor's Hist. of Duxbury, page 148.)

† Wm. Tudor expressed the public opinion of Maj. Hawley in this all-comprehensive eulogy (p. 260):

"He was a patriot without personal animosities; an orator without vanity; a lawyer without chicanery; a gentleman without ostentation; a statesman without duplicity; and a christian without bigotry."



from the list of councilors, and in their place elected James Pitts, Samuel Dexter, and others.

In his diary for that day (II., 195), John Adams exclaimed: "What a change! This day seems to be the literal accomplishment of a prophecy of Mr. Otis two or three winters ago. 'The day is hastening on with large strides when a dirty witless rabble shall go down with deserved infamy to all posterity!' Thus the triumph of Otis and his party are complete." On the next day, Gov. Bernard negatived Mr. Dexter's election, but allowed Mr. Pitts to stand. He first took his seat in this chamber on the 2d of June, 1766, and from that day on until the last meeting, in June, 1774, no member was so regular in his attendance as he.\*

On the 7th of June, 1766, the council adopted an eloquent address of congratulation to Gov. Bernard, and it was presented by Messrs. Brattle, Gamaliel Bradford, James Pitts, Thomas Flucker,† and Powell.

On the 27th of October, 1768, an address was signed by

\* Record of his first meeting: "Province of the Massachusetts Bay.

"At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston upon Monday, the 2d day of June, 1766; sitting the General Court.

"Present: His Excellency, Francis Bernard, Esq., Governor; Andrew Belcher, James Bowdoin, John Bradbury, Gamaliel Bradford, Wm. Brattle, John Chandler, Samuel Danforth, John Erving, Thomas Flucker, Harrison Gray, John Hill, Thomas Hubbard, Benjamin Lincoln, Timothy Paine, James Pitts, Jeremiah Powell, Nathaniel Ropes, Isaac Royal, James Russell, Royall Tyler.

Mr. Pitts had the company of both of his brothers-in-law, Bowdoin and Flucker, and Mr. Bowdoin had the company also of his father-in-law, John Erving. According to Sabine less than half of these councilors embraced the patriot cause.

† Thomas Flucker married Judith Bowdoin in 1744, the only full sister of Mrs. Pitts. He was, in 1774, secretary of the province and a mandamus councilor—sided with the loyalists, went to London and died there in 1783. His daughter Lucy married Maj.-Gen. Henry Knox, who was secretary of war from 1785 to 1795. Drake says: "She was a lady who, after the Revolution, became a principal ornament of the first circle of America."

the council to Gen. Gage, reminding him that the people had been misrepresented; that the disorders in the town had been greatly magnified, and spoke of his candor, generosity, and justice as a safeguard to counteract the misrepresentations which had been made by the enemies of the town. They endeavored to convince him that there was no occasion for so great a number of troops in the place, and hoped he would have them removed to the castle. This was signed, among others, by James Pitts, Samuel Dexter, James Bowdoin, and Gamaliel Bradford.

Gen. Gage thanked them for the honor done him, but declined to remove the troops, which led to constant troubles with the people, and in 1769 the council and house refused to do any public business so long as the troops were there, stationed within reach of their halls, upon which Gov. Bernard adjourned them to meet at Cambridge; and then they refused to proceed to business at Cambridge, because their removal was illegal; but in June they proceeded to business there under protest, and on the 27th they petitioned the king for his removal. From thence till the final rupture with England, Mr. Pitts was annually elected to the council, and sat as a law-maker and executive officer in the halls of Harvard University, where he had for four years been a pupil.

More literally true, perhaps, than was intended were the words of the orator, John Quincy Adams, to the school-boys of Boston, in Faneuil Hall in 1826, when he said: "It was by the midnight lamps of Harvard Hall that were conceived and matured, as it was within these hallowed walls that were first resounded the accents of that Independence which is now canonized in the memory of those by whom it was proclaimed."

Robert C. Winthrop, in his life of Bowdoin, says: "It would not be easy to overstate the importance to the ultimate success of American liberty and independence, of



the course pursued by the council and house of representatives of Massachusetts, during the greater part of this period—a controversy, beginning as early as 1757, and which lasted till the final independence. Indeed, if any one would fully understand the rise and progress of Revolutionary principles on this continent; if he would understand the arbitrary and tyrannical doctrines which were asserted by the British ministry, and the prompt resistance and powerful refutation which they met at the hands of our New-England patriots, he must read what are called The Massachusetts State Papers, containing the messages of the governor to the legislature, and the answers of the two branches of the legislature to the governor. He will find here almost all the great principles and questions of that momentous controversy:—Trial by Jury, Regulation of Trade, Taxation without Representation, the Stamp Act, the Tea Tax, and the rest, stated and argued with unsurpassed ability and spirit." Daniel Webster, in his oration at Bunker Hill, speaks of these State papers with equal praise, as did Chatham and Burke, in England. Gov. Hutchinson says that Bowdoin, as chairman of the committee in the council, was without a rival, and, being united in principles with the leading men in the house, measures were concerted between him and them, and from this time the council, in scarcely any instance, disagreed with the house.

During the ten years of continual warfare between the king and his ministers, and governors and officers, on the one side, and the council and assembly of Massachusetts, and the people, on the other side, James Pitts was inflexibly on the side of the people and liberty, and against the royal prerogative. This battle was peculiarly hard in the council, for there the king had a stronger party than in the house. The town meetings and the house of representatives were always for American liberty and against every

usurpation of the crown; but the governor and lieutenant-governor were appointed directly by the crown, and the governor had a right to veto or negative the election of a councilor—a right which he exercised nearly every year, and the councilors, being generally men of age and wealth or rank, were naturally conservative.

Bernard and Hutchinson contended that the council was peculiarly intended to assist the crown, and all the influences of royal power tended to incline the council to uphold the government, but Mr. Pitts was always on the side of the people of Massachusetts.

A most notable instance of this occurred at the time when Samuel Adams and a committee of citizens demanded from Gov. Hutchinson the removal of the troops from Boston in 1770. The military troops stationed at Boston were a continual fret to the people. Horse-racing on the common by the soldiers on Sunday, and military parades in the street, grated on the feelings of a church-going people; personal quarrels and brawls were continually taking place, and finally the massacre on King Street threw the people into a ferment of passion. At a town meeting, Samuel Adams and a large committee were appointed to wait on Gov. Hutchinson and the council, and demand the removal of the troops. "The committee (Frothingham's Warren, p. 143) about 4 o'clock repaired to the council-chamber. It was a room respectable in size, and not without ornament or historic memorials. On its walls were representations of the two elements, now in conflict, of the absolutism that was passing away, in full-length portraits of Charles II and James II, robed in the royal ermine, and of a republicanism that had grown robust and self-reliant, in the heads of Endicott, and Winthrop, and Bradstreet, and Belcher. Around a table were seated the lieutenant-governor and the members of the council, with the military officers; the scrupulous and sumptuous costumes of civilians in authority—gold and silver lace, scarlet

cloaks and large wigs, mingling with the brilliant uniforms of the British army and navy. Into such imposing presence was now ushered the plainly-attired committee of the town. At this time, the governor, a portion of the council, the military officers, the secretary of the province, and other officials in the town house, were sternly resolved to refuse compliance with the demand of the people. Adams remarked at length on the illegality of quartering troops on the inhabitants in times of peace, and without the consent of the legislature; adverted with warmth to the late tragedy; painted the misery in which the town would be involved if the troops were suffered to remain; and urged the necessity of an immediate compliance with the vote of the people. The governor, in a brief reply, defended both the legality and necessity of the troops, and asserted that they were not subject to his authority. Adams again rose, and attention was riveted on him as he paused, and gave a searching look at Hutchinson." The famous picture by Copley, in Faneuil Hall, represents Adams as he appeared at this moment. Adams made another impassioned appeal and the committee retired. Then came the controversy between the governor, Col. Dalrymple, and the officers and crown officials, and many members of the council, on the one side, and Messrs. Royal Tyler, James Pitts, and Samuel Dexter\* on the other.† We have it, in Gov. Hutchinson's

\* Samuel Dexter, b. 1726, d. 1810, was son of Rev. Samuel D., b. 1700, d. 1755, and Catherine Mears, b. 1701, died 1797. Rev. Samuel D. was son of John D. of Malden, and Winnifred Sprague. Samuel, the councilor, was a merchant of Boston, married to Hannah Sigourney. He spent the greater part of his life in retirement, in literary, social, and charitable work, and founded the Lectureship for Biblical Criticism at Harvard. He was an active member of the council from 1767 to 1774, and of all the provincial congresses of Massachusetts, and of most of the important committees. His greatest gift to the world was his son Samuel, b. 1761, d. 1816, of whom John Adams said in a letter to Vanderkemp, May 26, 1816: "I have lost the ablest friend I had on earth in Mr. Dexter."

† As the council proceedings have never been printed, I insert them here

own letter of March 18, 1770, to Sir Francis Bernard: "If the council would have joined me and encouraged the people to wait until there could be an order from Gen. Gage, they might have been appeased; but instead of that, the major part of them encouraged them in their demand, and, upon the representations made of the state of the people

in full: At a Council held at the Council Chamber, upon Thursday, the 6th day of March, 1770.

Present: His Honor, Thomas Hutchinson, Esqr., Lieut.-Governor Sam'l Danforth, Harrison Gray, Royall Tyler, John Erving, Esqre., James Russell, Esqre., James Pitts, Esqre., Thos. Hubbard, Samuel Dexter.

The Town having been put into great disorder and confusion the last evening, by means of the King's Troops firing upon the Inhabitants, whereby three or four of them have been killed and divers others wounded, His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor ordered a Council to be notified. The Council being met, His Honor opened to them the occasion; whereupon they advised him to send notice to Lieut.-Colonel Dalrymple, the Commanding Officer of the Troops, and to Lieut.-Colonel Carr of the 29th, that the Lieutenant-Governor and Council were now assembled on this unhappy occasion, and would be glad they would attend in Council while the matter was under discussion, and afford them such lights as were in their power respecting the affair under consideration. The Commanding Officers of the two Regiments attended accordingly, when in their presence divers Gentlemen of the Council informed His Honor, the Lieutenant-Governor, that the people of this and some of the neighbouring Towns were so exasperated and incensed on account of the inhuman and barbarous destruction of a number of the Inhabitants by the Troops, that they apprehended imminent danger of further bloodshed by the Troops, unless the Troops were forthwith removed from the body of the Town, which in their opinion was the only method to prevent it.

While these matters were under debate in Council, a Committee from the Town of Boston then assembled in Town Meeting, waited on His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, most fervently praying that his power and influence may be exerted for the immediate removal of the Troops, as nothing less could rationally be expected to restore the peace of the Town, and prevent blood and carnage.

No question was put to the Council, but the several Gentlemen of the Council present expressed their sense of the necessity of the immediate removal of the Troops from the Town; and after they had conferred with Colo. Dalrymple and Colo. Carr upon the subject, His Honor gave the following answer to the Committee of the Town, the same having been first read to the Council,

viz.:

by Tyler, backed by S——, Pitts, and Dexter, Col. Dalrymple told them he would remove the twenty-ninth regiment till he could hear from the general. I wished to have been clear of the council in the afternoon, but it was not possible."

The result was the removal of the troops from Boston

"GENTLEMEN:—I am extremely sorry for the unhappy difference between the Inhabitants and the Troops, and especially for the action of the last evening, and I have exerted myself upon the occasion, that a due inquiry be made and that the law may have its course. I have in Council consulted with the Commanding Officers of the two Regiments which are in the Town; they have their orders from the General at New York; it is not in my power to countermand his orders. The Council have desired that the Regiments may be removed to the Castle. From the particular concern which the 29th Regiment has had in these differences, Colo. Dalrymple, who is the Commanding Officer of the Troops, has signified to me that that Regiment shall be placed in the Barracks at the Castle, until he can send to the General and receive his further orders concerning both the Regiments; and he has given me assurance that the Main Guard shall be removed, and the 14th Regiment shall be so disposed and laid under such restraint that all future differences may be prevented."

The Council was then adjourned to the afternoon, and being met, His Honor received a second Message from the Town by a Committee appointed for the purpose, in the following words, *viz.*:

"Voted, that a Committee be appointed to wait on His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor and acquaint him that it is the opinion of this Meeting, consisting of near three thousand People, that His Honor's reply is by no means satisfactory, and that nothing will satisfy the Town less than a total and immediate removal of the Troops."

His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor laid before the Board the foregoing Message of the Town, presented to him this afternoon, and then addressed them as follows, *viz.*:

"GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNCIL:—I lay before you a Vote of the Town of Boston which I have just now received from them, and I now ask your advice what you judge necessary to be done upon it."

The Council thereupon expressed themselves to be unanimously of Opinion that it was absolutely necessary for His Majesty's service, the good order of the Town, and the peace of the Province, that the Troops should be immediately removed out of the Town of Boston, and thereupon advised His Honor to communicate this advice of the Council to Colo. Dalrymple, and to pray that he would order the Troops down to Castle William.

to Castle William, and, without detracting from the triumph of Samuel Adams and his committee, it is but just to give some unqualified praise for that great triumph to Royal Tyler, James Pitts, and Samuel Dexter, who had a much harder contest than did Adams. He was the spokesman of thousands of incensed and most of them irresponsible citizens; while Tyler, Pitts, and Dexter had to fight their own class, as well as the army officers, the governor and

The following is the First Message from the Town of Boston referred to in the foregoing proceedings of Council, *viz.*:

"At a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston at Faneuil Hall, March 6th, 1770.

"Voted, that it is the unanimous opinion of this Meeting that the Inhabitants and Soldiery can no longer dwell together in safety; that nothing can rationally be expected to restore the peace of the Town and prevent Blood and Carnage but the immediate removal of the Troops, and that Thomas Cushing, John Hancock, Joshua Henshaw, Samuel Adams, W. Henderson Inches, Samuel Pemberton, Dr. Benjamin Church, John Ruddock, William Phillips, Ezekiel Goldthwait, Benjn. Austin, Samuel Austin, William Molineux, Jonathan Mason, Joseph Jackson, be a Committee to wait upon His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, in the name of the Inhabitants, and most fervently pray His Honor that his power and influence may be exerted for their instant removal."

N.B.—Lieutenant-Colo. Dalrymple of the 14th Regiment, Lieut.-Colo. Carr of the 29th, and Capt. Caldwell of His Majesty's Ship, *Rose*, were present in Council during the greater part of the forenoon and the whole of the afternoon, while the foregoing proceedings were had in Council.

Advised and Consented that a Warrant be made out to the Treasurer to pay unto the Selectmen of the Town of Boston the sum of Three Hundred and seventy-four Pounds ten shillings and nine pence one farthing, to discharge their account for boarding and supporting sundry indigent Persons in Boston Almshouse from September 1st, 1769, to March 1st, 1770, they not being Inhabitants of any Town in the Province.

Advised and Consented that a Warrant be made out to the Treasurer to pay unto Paul Farmer the sum of Twenty-Nine Pounds eight shillings, to discharge his account as Keeper of Boston Almshouse, for extraordinary care and trouble of the above persons the same time.

Advised and Consented that a Warrant be made out to the Treasurer to pay unto Thomas Rand the sum of seven Pounds eight shillings, to discharge his account for going Express to Martha's Vineyard in quest of a Pirate, horse-hire, &c.—BOSTON RECORDS, Vol. 16, pp. 454-461.



secretary, and the silent influence of George III and his almost omnipotent parliament and ministry. In 1817, John Adams wrote that this scene deserved to be painted as much as the surrender of Burgoyne.

The patriots considered this a great civic triumph, and the British government was angry. Encomiums from lovers of liberty were copied into the Boston papers like these:

Your Bostonians shine with renewed lustre.

So much wisdom and virtue as hath been conspicuous in Boston will not go unrewarded.

The noble conduct of the representatives, selectmen, and principal merchants of Boston in defending and supporting the rights of America, and the British Constitution can not fail to excite love and gratitude in the heart of every worthy person in the British Empire. They discover a dignity of soul worthy the human mind, which is the true glory of man, and merits the applause of all rational beings. Their names will shine unsullied in the bright records of fame to the latest ages, and unborn millions will rise up and call them blessed.

In September, 1770, when Hutchinson gave up the command of the Castle William to Col. Dalrymple by command of the king, thus expressly violating the charter, which provided that the castle and forts should be in command of the governor, he called the council together to inform them secretly that he was about soon to do so. He says: "They were all struck when they heard the order. Pitts said perhaps it was executed already. I made no reply." The council made an effort to obtain an authentic copy of the king's order, in order to vindicate their charter rights, but in vain. The council then prepared a long and able report, together with a full statement of the seizure of the castle, and other infringements on the public liberties.

This slight incident, Mr. Pitts being the only member mentioned by Gov. Hutchinson, shows that he was alive

to the encroachments of the crown, and quick to oppose and resist them. (See Wells' Life of S. Adams, Vol. I, p. 356.)

An examination of the Massachusetts Records will show Mr. Pitts pursuing the same line of action through all the troubles of the Revolution to the time of his death in 1776, working in perfect harmony with Bowdoin and Dexter and Winthrop, though sometimes without them, for they were sometimes kept out of the council by the veto of the governor.

The mere fact of being annually elected by the house and the old council through all those times which tried men's souls is ample evidence of the estimation in which he was held by Boston; but there is a special indorsement of him which bears the name of one second only to Washington in the firmament of Western glory, Benjamin Franklin. Gov. Hutchinson had pretended to send letters to England advocating the liberties of Americans, and had sent other letters, privately, quite opposed to them and in favor of abridging those liberties. These letters had been discovered by Sir John Temple,\* who married Gov. Bowdoin's daughter, and communicated to Franklin in a way that precluded him from making public use of them; but to show the patriots what dangers they must know of and battle against, Franklin sent these letters to Thomas Cushing, the speaker of the house, with a letter, in the early

\* John Temple, born at East Boston, 1731; married Elizabeth Bowdoin, only daughter of Gov. James Bowdoin, 1767. He was an ardent patriot, and, after the war, on the death of Sir Richard Temple, inherited the Temple title in England, and became eighth baronet. He was son of Robert Temple of Ten Hills, and Mehitabel Nelson. (New-Eng. Reg., Vol. X, p. 78.) He died in New York, 1793, and was buried in Trinity Churchyard. In *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. LIII, p. 874, there is a copy of his memorial tablet in Trinity Chapel. His eldest son became Sir Grenville Temple, ninth baronet. His oldest daughter, Elizabeth Bowdoin Temple, married Thomas Lindall Winthrop, and their youngest child is Robert C. Winthrop. For a description of



part of 1773, a copy of which I find in John Adams, Vol. I, p. 647:

LONDON, 177—.

SIR:—I embrace this opportunity to acquaint you that there is lately fallen into my hands part of a correspondence that I have reason to believe laid the foundation of most if not all our present grievances. I am not at liberty to tell through what channel I received it, but I am allowed to let it be seen by some men of worth in the province for their satisfaction. I wish I was at liberty to make the letters public, but as I am not, I can allow them to be seen by yourself, by Messrs. Bowdoin & Pitts, of the Council, and Dr. Chauncy, Cooper, and Winthrop, etc.

What a distinction! to be trusted and honored by Benjamin Franklin as one of the first six “men of worth in the province!”

The juxtaposition of names, Bowdoin, Pitts, and Winthrop, by Franklin, reminds me that President John Adams, scarcely, if at all, inferior to Franklin in the position he holds in the world's history, testified his appreciation of the Bowdoin, Winthrop, and Pitts families on many occasions.

Thus he wrote his wife:

PHIL., May 27, 1776.

A Governor & Lieut.-Gov. I hope will be chosen, & the Constitution a little more fixed. I hope Mr. Bowdoin will be Gov. if his health will permit, & Dr. Winthrop Lieut.-Gov. These are wise, learned, & prudent men. The first has a great fortune &

Sir John and Lady Temple see the diary of Dr. Cutler.—Hist. Mag., 22, p. 82:

“Sunday, July 8, 1787—[New-York City]. I dined at Sir John Temple's.

\* \* Sir John is a complete gentleman, and Lady Temple is certainly the greatest beauty, notwithstanding her age, I ever saw. To a well-proportioned form, a perfectly fair skin, and completely adjusted features is added a soft but majestic air, an easy and pleasing sociability, a vein of fine sense which commands admiration and infuses delight. \* \* She is now a grandmother, but I should not suppose her to be more than twenty-four.” Her real age was thirty-seven.

wealthy connections. The other has the advantage of a name and family which is much revered, besides his personal abilities, which are very great.

On the 24th of June, 1776, he wrote to William Tudor: "I agree with you in your hopes that Massachusetts will proceed to complete her government. Mr. Bowdoin or Winthrop, I hope, will be chosen governor."

See also his letter to Washington, June, 1775, post, commending him especially to Bowdoin, Winthrop, and Pitts, among others.

To Francis Dana he writes, June 12, 1776: "I think the province never had so fair a representation, or so respectable a house or board. You have a great number of ingenious, able men in each." This was when Bowdoin was president of the council, with the authority *de facto* of a governor, and when Dr. Winthrop was in the council, and John Pitts in the House, his father having died in January.

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#### THE TEA PARTY.

THE next picture I shall present will be of James Pitts, the councilor, and his three sons—John, Samuel, and Lendall.\* John had been elected in May, 1773, a select-

\* It is impossible to thoroughly understand and appreciate the influence and position of James Pitts in Boston in the Revolution without looking in at his hospitable mansion and seeing around his board those six sons, every one of whom was a member of the Liberty Club, then so earnest and active. The records of those days were purposely left meagre by the actors, but I will neither trust to tradition, nor allow my imagination to indulge in any fancy picture, for history has left enduring proofs of the signal services of three of those boys, John, Samuel, and Lendall, which show the heroism inherited from the mixture of the Huguenot and Puritan blood. John, born 1737, died 1815, married Mary Tyng; James, born 1741, died July 11, 1772, unmarried; Thomas, born 1743, died May 17, 1769, unmarried; William, born 1744, died Oct. 22, 1780, unmarried; Samuel, born Dec. 15, 1745, died March 6, 1805, married Johanna Davis; Lendall, born 1747, died Dec. 31, 1787, married Elizabeth Fitch.

man, with John Hancock, John Scollay, Timothy Newell, Thomas Marshall, Samuel Austin, and Oliver Wendell, all of whom were reëlected in 1774 and 1775.

The duties of a selectman were very trying in those days. Frothingham says (Siege. 27), "the labors of the town officers at this time were arduous and important. At a crisis when so much depended on the good order of the town their services were required to be unusually energetic and judicious."

Samuel Pitts, whose portrait by Copley is with us, was an officer of the cadets, the finest military company in the country, commanded by Col. Hancock, and described by Andrews as equal in drill and appearance to any of the regular army.

Lendall Pitts, the Benjamin of the flock, the youngest of six sons, had yet his spurs to win, and so won them in one night's work as to send his name riding down the avenues of time with lustrous notice.

The famous Tea Act was passed and became a law on the 10th of May, 1773. It was a deliberate attempt to establish the right of parliament to tax America, and give the East-India company the monopoly of the colonial market.

The determination of the Americans not to pay a tax levied by a body in which they were not represented was as fixed as the purpose of the king to collect the duty on tea. The scheme suddenly roused more indignation than had been created by the Stamp Act. All America was in a flame. The mighty surge of passion plainly meant resistance. There was no peaceable mode of obtaining redress in such cases, as we have now in our Federal courts. The only way, then, to defeat an odious scheme to collect an illegal tax was to follow the methods of popular demonstration, which had long been, and is to this day, customary in England, and thus render the law inoperative.

The tea was shipped to America. The Boston patriots held great and excited public meetings in Faneuil Hall, and adopted resolutions similar to those already passed in Philadelphia to resist the landing of the tea.

John Pitts was a member of the committee to urge the consignees and commissioners to resign, and all the public meetings, to be legal, had to be called by him and his fellow-selectmen. His three associates on that committee were Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and Joseph Warren. Wells says this committee hunted for the younger Hutchinsons, who were consignees at Boston, and were told they had gone to Milton; they went to Milton and were told they had gone back to Boston; they rode back to Boston, and learned they had gone to Milton again; and there they went again, and obtained an unsatisfactory answer, and so reported at the great town meeting at Faneuil Hall.

For days and weeks, earnest and excited meetings were held between patriots and loyalists, between councillors and representatives, between army and navy officers, between commissioners and consignees, to devise some means to send back the tea without forfeiting the ships; and by secret clubs, cadets and sons of liberty to guard the ships, the docks, and the crews, and to see to it that the symbol of slavery should not touch Boston soil.

This continued from October to December 16, 1773, gathering in excitement every day and night, when the final grapple occurred in this council-chamber, then in the Old South Church, and lastly at Griffin's wharf.

Leading patriots in all parts of America had been looking with anxiety for fear that Boston would now fail in the presence of an army and navy and a garrisoned fort. The city was filled with people from a radius of twenty miles. As Robert C. Winthrop said at your Centennial celebration here in 1873: "It became a simple question which should go under, British tea or American liberty."

These exciting meetings and discussions had been held so long that the very last day had arrived on which the ships could stay without forfeiture. The governor refused a clearance, and the consignees refused to resign.

At this point, December 16, 1773, let us pause a moment to notice the peculiar combination of circumstances which entitle the Pitts family to the gratitude of all their descendants and all lovers of American independence.

It is remarkable that so many of the Massachusetts patriots were so fortunate as to be well repeated in their sons. Wealth, influence, and power, as a general rule, entail upon their inheritors, enervated natures, social luxury, and loss of noble aspirations. But there were exceptions among the Boston fathers.

John Adams, the colossus of the congress of 1776, lived to see his equally gifted son, John Quincy, crowned with civil, political, and literary honors; and his grandson, in our own gloomy days of 1861 and '62, laid strong hands upon the British lion in his own den.

James Bowdoin lived to see his son an active member of the Massachusetts convention of 1788, over which he himself was president, and which ratified the adoption of the Federal Constitution; fit beginning of a career which ended by endowing the college which bears his name; a name whose glory was merged in the last generation in that of Gov. Thomas Lindall Winthrop, and has stood like an epitome of fame in the Centennial orations at Boston, at Bunker Hill, and Yorktown, in the still more renowned presence of his son, Robert C. Winthrop, the great-grandson of Gov. Bowdoin.

Samuel Dexter lived to see his son Samuel in the cabinet of President Adams, and who received the highest encomiums of Judge Story and Daniel Webster as the giant of the New-England bar—a legal reputation kept conspicuous to this day by Franklin Dexter in the third

and Wirt Dexter in the fourth generation from the councillor of 1773.

Richard Dana, dying in 1772, lived to see his son Francis give promise of the first-class patriot who became Adams' right-hand man in his foreign ministry, and to hand down a name that has been honored and famous for four generations since.

Gov. Increase Sumner was father of Gen. William H. Sumner, a member of the Massachusetts house from 1808 to 1819.

Thomas Cushing's blood and brains have helped to fill and adorn the supreme courts of Massachusetts and the United States.

Col. Prescott, whose magnificent statue graces the brow of Bunker Hill on the spot where his bodily but inspired presence stood on the 17th of June, 1775, was the father of a great judge and jurist, and the grandsire of the illustrious historian.

John Lowell, the patriot lawyer, was followed by two distinguished sons, John and Charles, and his grandson, James Russell Lowell, roused the English reading world as by an electric shock in his "Present Crisis," taught them how to master the Fortress of Selfishness in the Vision of Sir Launfall, and has made the name of American honored in every court in Europe.

Joseph Hawley, the legal giant of Western Massachusetts, whose "broken hints" in August, 1774, beginning "*we must fight*," was read to Patrick Henry before his famous speech, using the same memorable words—Joseph Hawley, a very tower of strength in every provincial congress of Massachusetts—has been followed by worthy sons until the battle-fields of our great Rebellion and the house and senate of our National capital have grown familiar with the same clarion tones from the self-same name.

Oliver Wendell, the indefatigable overseer of the poor



of Boston, the true selectman, the staunch and reliable patriot—why mention *his* descendants! at the mere anticipation of a name you all so love, every stone in this old State House seems to start into life and ring out the song,

“The stones of King Street still are red,  
And yet the bloody red-coats come;  
I hear their pacing sentrys tread,  
The click of steel, the tap of drum.”

Can you not hear the fields of Lexington sobbing out his words,

“Green be the grass where her martyrs are lying”;  
and as if answering the wail, the waves which break upon long wharf are jubilantly resounding,

“The red-coats have vanished: the last grenadier  
Stepped into the boat from the end of our pier.”

And hark!—from the belfry of the Old South comes his grandmother’s story,

“’Tis like stirring living embers when, at eighty, one  
remembers  
All the achings and the quakings, of the times that  
tried men’s souls.”

And still this roll of honor could be largely extended. But it was the peculiar fortune of JAMES PITTS to labor in that grandest revolution of the ages *with his own sons by his side*.

It was the tender and loving privilege of John, Samuel, and Lendall Pitts to walk those paths whose failure led to the scaffold, the axe, or the gallows, and whose success led to liberty, freedom, and glory, with heartbeats keeping time to those of their patriot sire.

When the great contest over the tea tax culminated; when the ships laden with the crucial test were in the har-

bor so long that they must be unladen, or forfeited, or pass into the possession of the navy and army; while Castle William with its shotted guns frowned upon their beloved but doomed city; when Gov. Hutchinson met the Massachusetts council and begged their aid on behalf of the king and parliament, it was then that the cause of the colonies was urged, defended, and insisted upon by five men, recorded by Frothingham in his *Life of Joseph Warren*, page 259, as James Bowdoin, James Pitts, Samuel Dexter, Artemus Ward, and John Winthrop.

James Pitts was the oldest of the five patriots, and his age and inflexible temper, his great wealth and long experience, gave his opinions and arguments a force which Gov. Hutchinson would scarcely have yielded to any other man in Boston. No one knew Mr. Pitts better than Gov. Hutchinson. They were born about the same time, one in 1710, the other in 1711, and both graduated at Harvard. His wealth, his business interests, his university and professional acquaintances added weight to his inflexible temper and natural talents. Nor was this all. The inevitable tendency of great wealth is to make men conservative and selfish, but this tendency was more than counterbalanced in his case by having such a wife as Elizabeth Bowdoin. The Huguenot blood, which would not permit her grandfather to enjoy his comfortable profession in France in slavery, mingled with the independent blood of the Puritan Pordages and Lyndes of New England developed in her a character fit for the sister of the chiefest patriot in Boston's aristocracy and the king's council—fitter still for the wife of an inflexible, determined patriot in the council, in the marketplace, wharves, and banks of Boston; and fittest of all for the mother of liberty-loving, liberty-working sons.

The conservatism, the age, the natural desire for ease, the present comforts which tend to procrastinate the days



of trial were all overcome by the youthful impetuosity of his grown-up boys—all sons of liberty, all members of the patriotic clubs. Another fact which made James Pitts so conspicuous a character at this time—December, 1773—may have been that the old councillor was gathering wisdom and sympathy from the bereavements which at some time come to all. The old family tomb in the rear of the chancel of King's Chapel, but a few feet west of the statue of Franklin, had been opened in October, 1771, for the loving wife and mother of his children; in 1769, ten years after the beginning of the long and weary contest for Constitutional liberty, he lost his son and partner, Thomas, at the age of twenty-six; and in 1772, his son and namesake, James, died in the Bermudas, aged thirty. Surely, if there was a character in Boston fitted by birth, education, wealth, social connections, the heritage and reflex influence of noble sons, and by the universal sympathy of men toward bereavement, it was James Pitts, the patriot councillor, in December, 1773. I can not but think that it was, in some part, his influence over his old friends, Govs. Bernard and Hutchinson, and the hospitable and friendly intercourse which he had held with Gov. Gage, which kept back those men from following out the bloody and arbitrary instructions of Lord Dartmouth and George III; from seizing and carrying to the Tower of London, or from beheading or hanging, the leaders of the Revolution, and precipitating a conflict which would have laid Boston in ashes and her streets in blood before any union of the colonies or concert of action could have been perfected. Time to bring together the discordant elements of the thirteen colonies into a union which just barely accomplished victory was all important to their success.

And now, on the 16th day of December, 1773, this remarkable scene appeared. While James Pitts, the old councillor, backed by his younger brothers, Bowdoin, Dex-

ter, Ward, and Winthrop, was battling for his country against Gov. Hutchinson and the loyal members of the council, and while his eldest son, John Pitts, a selectman, and one of the committee to cope with the consignees and commissioners, was one of the town officers presiding over the greatest mass-meeting ever yet seen at the Old South Church, his youngest son, Lendall, was waiting, in war-paint and tomahawk, for the time when Samuel Adams solemnly pronounced, "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country." Their warwhoop thrilled an audience whose nerves had been excited to the last tension. Hewes, one of the party, says, "Pitts, who was quite a military man, was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces then and there assembled." In orderly and stern array they marched to the music of a fife to the guarded ships, while thousands of patriots, including Hancock and Samuel Pitts and the other cadets, kept silent watch for three long hours, while the immortal band, though under the guns of an enemy who could at any moment have blown them to atoms, were emptying into the sea the offensive cargo which George III and his obsequious parliament had sent to test and prove the subjection of America to their imperial power.

It is, perhaps, worthy of mention that the secret act of his younger brother, Lendall, was openly indorsed, and all its consequences assumed by his brother John. About a week after the tea-party, when it was currently supposed that all who took part in that daring performance would be arrested if discovered, and executed for treason, the committee on correspondence passed the following resolution:

That the subscribers do engage to exert our utmost influence to support and vindicate each other, and any person or persons who may be likely to suffer for any noble efforts they may have made to save their country by defeating the operations of the

British parliament expressly designed to extort a revenue from the Colonies against their consent.

Samuel Adams, JOHN PITTS, Robert Pierpont, Oliver Wendell, Thomas Young, William Cooper, William Powell, William Molineaux, Benjamin Church, Joseph Greenleaf, Cadt. John Bradford, Nathan Appleton, John Sweetzer, William Greenleaf, Deacon Boyton.

BOSTON, December 24, 1773.

"Here was a pledge made among a plain, democratic committee of the people, for mutual protection at this perilous crisis against the most powerful nation in the world, whose king and parliament they had defied in the cause of justice and humanity." (Life of S. Adams, Vol. II, p. 126.)

The effect of this act was wonderful on both sides of the Atlantic. Samuel Adams said, "You can not imagine the height of joy that sparkles in the eyes and animates the countenances as well as the hearts of all we meet on this occasion."

John Adams said, "This is the most magnificent movement of all. There is a dignity, a majesty, a sublimity in this last effort of the patriots that I greatly admire. This destruction of the tea is so bold and it must have so important consequences and so lasting that I can not but consider it an epoch in history." In New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston the inhabitants were jubilant. Gov. Hutchinson declared "it had created a new union among the patriots."

In another place John Adams said, "The destruction of the tea was one of those events, rare in the life of nations, which, occurring in a peculiar state of public opinion, serve to wrest public affairs from the control of men, however wise or great, and cast them into the irresistible current of ideas."

Wells calls it "the great crowning act of the Revolution prior to the commencement of hostilities."

THE LAST PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS  
 was elected on May 25th, 1774. On May 31st, Gov. Hutchinson wrote thus to the earl of Dartmouth from Boston:

MY LORD:—Since my last of the 19th, the general court assembled here to be sworn and elect the members of his majesty's council. The enclosed paper will inform your lordship of all that passed on the occasion, in which you will observe that I refused my consent to the election of thirteen of the new councillors. The three first on that list were of the old council who drew up the report of the committee of the council on the 27th November last, and the rest either committee men for correspondence or such persons as I could not approve.

A list of the councillors elected by the assembly of the Massachusetts Bay on Wednesday, 25th May, 1774:

Elected and consented to by the Governor:	Elected and refused consent by the Governor:
Samuel Danforth,	Jas. Bowdoin,
John Erving,	Sam'l Dexter,
James Pitts,	John Winthrop,
Artemas Ward,	Wm. Phillips,
Benj. Greenleaf,	John Adams,
Caleb Cushing,	Jas. Prescott,
Samuel Phillips,	Timothy Danielson,
Richard Derby, Jr.,	Michael Farley,
James Otis,	Benj. Austin,
William Seaver,	Norton Quincy,
Walter Spooner,	Enoch Freeman,
Jeremiah Powell,	Jedediah Foster,
Benj. Chadburn,	Jerathmiel Bowers.
Geo. Leonard, Jr.,	
Jedediah Preble,	

On March 14th, 1774, George III sent a note to Lord North, in which he urged an alteration of the charter of Massachusetts, and remarked that Lord Dartmouth was very firm in its expediency.

Lord North introduced a bill "to purge the constitution of all its crudities, and give a degree of strength and spirit to the civil magistracy and to the executive power. There was much deliberation in the cabinet relative to the council, Lord Mansfield urging that the nomination of the members ought to be vested in the crown.

On March 31st, the Boston Port Bill became a law, which was intended to, and did for some years, destroy the business of this city. On April 15th, a bill was introduced for vesting the nomination of the councillors in the crown; took all executive power from the house; judges were to be appointed by the governor, and juries by the sheriff; town meetings could only be called by the governor, and could discuss topics specified by him in the call. It passed on May 6th, to the great satisfaction of the king, who assented to it on May 20th, and it went into effect at once, and the provincial council of Massachusetts ceased to have any legal existence.

A protest in the house of lords objected that this act invested the governor and council with powers with which the British constitution had not trusted his majesty and his privy council, and that the lives, liberties, and properties of the subject were put into their hands without control.

A measure more subversive of freedom, says Earl Russell (*Life of Fox*, Vol. I, p. 63), more contrary to all constitutional principles, and more likely to excite America against imperial authority could not well be formed.

The magnificent appeals of Chatham, Shelburne, Camden, Barré, and others who contended that America was only fighting for their constitutional rights, were all lost in the frenzy of indignation which fired the British heart on account of the destruction of their tea.

The condemnation of this and the Port Bill in the colonies was indignant and universal. In Virginia, George

Washington presided over a meeting of the freeholders of Fairfax County, which resolved that unless the cruel measures were counteracted, the end would be the ruin of the Colonies.

Hutchinson was called to England, and Gen. Gage was appointed governor of Massachusetts. He landed May 19, and on the motion of James Pitts, the council, so soon to be superseded, moved an address to him of a character to remove any unfavorable impression which report might have created as to the character and disposition of the inhabitants. They received him with military salutes, and gave him a grand banquet at Faneuil Hall.

Gov. Hutchinson sailed for England June 1 and arrived July 1.

[Extracts from the journal of Thomas Hutchinson, governor of Massachusetts.]

1st July, 1774. Received a card from Lord Dartmouth, desiring to see me at his house before one o'clock. I went soon after twelve; and, after near an hour's conversation, his lordship proposed introducing me immediately to the King.

\* \* \* \* \*

*King.* Nothing could be more cruel than the treatment you met with in betraying your private letters. (The King, turning to Lord Dartmouth.) My Lord, I remember nothing in them to which the least exception could be taken?

*Lord Dartmouth.* That appears, Sir, from the report of the Committee of Council, and from your Majesty's order thereon.

*King.* Could you ever find, Mr. Hutchinson, how those letters came to New England?

*Hutchinson.* Doctor Franklin, may it please your Majesty, has made a public declaration that he sent them, and the speaker has acknowledged to me that he received them. I do not remember that he said directly from Doctor Franklin; but it was understood between us that they came from him. I had heard before that they came either direct from him, or that he had sent them



through another channel; and that they were to be communicated to six persons only, and then to be returned, without suffering any copies being taken. I sent for the Speaker, and let him know what I had heard, which came from one of the six to a friend, and so to me. The Speaker said they were sent to him, and that he was at first restrained from showing them to any more than six persons.

*King.* Did he tell you who were the persons?

*Hutchinson.* Yes, Sir. There was Mr. Bowdoin, Mr. PITTS, Doctor Winthrop, Doctor Chauncy, Doctor Cooper, and himself. They are not all the same which had been mentioned before. The two Mr. Adamses had been named to me in room of Mr. Pitts and Doctor Winthrop.

*King.* Mr. Bowdoin, I have heard of.

*Lord Dartmouth.* I think he is father-in-law to Mr. Temple.

*King.* WHO IS MR. PITTS?

*Hutchinson.* He is one of the Council; married Mr. Bowdoin's sister.

*King.* I have heard of Doctor Chauncy and Dr. Cooper, but who is Dr. Winthrop?

*Hutchinson.* He is not a doctor of divinity, Sir, but of law; a professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at the college; and last year was chose of the Council.

*King.* I have heard of one Mr. Adams; but who is the other?

*Hutchinson.* He is a lawyer, Sir.

*King.* Brother to the other?

*Hutchinson.* No, Sir; a relation. He has been of the House, but is not now. He was elected by the two Houses to be of the Council, but negatived.

While Hutchinson was on his way to England, occurred the memorable meeting of the general court at Salem, on June 7th, 1774. The fifteen councillors elected under the charter were still in office, and boldly announced to the governor on the 9th their invincible attachment to their rights and liberties, and expressed the wish that the principles and general conduct of Gage's administration might

be a happy contrast to that of his two immediate predecessors. At this point the governor stopped the reading, and soon after sent the council a bitter message, denouncing the address as an insult upon his majesty and an affront upon himself. On June 17th, with locked doors, and the key in Samuel Adams' pocket, and Secretary Flucker on the outside trying to prorogue the assembly, the house of representatives elected five delegates to a continental congress at Philadelphia. James Bowdoin, the admitted leader of the council for years, lead the delegation, Samuel and John Adams, Thomas Cushing, and Robert Treat Paine being his associates, any three of whom should be a quorum.

It never can cease to be a matter of regret that when that famous continental congress of fifty-three met on September 5, 1774, at Philadelphia, James Bowdoin, owing to the severe and simultaneous illness of his wife and himself, could not have taken the place assigned him at the head of the Massachusetts delegation.

Massachusetts had been the pivot of the colonial contest for nearly fifteen years. Every principle of constitutional law and the natural rights of man had been there discussed and argued and settled by the greatest intellects of the day, descendants of the liberty-loving party of Great Britain for a century. The State papers that had been there written and adopted have been declared by Chatham, Burke, and Brougham in England and Daniel Webster\*

\* In his last speech in Boston, only a few weeks before his death, Webster uttered these words:

"From my earliest age the political history of Massachusetts has been a sort of beau ideal to me.

"Massachusetts struck for the liberty of a continent. It is her everlasting glory that hers was the first effort ever made by man to separate America from European dominion. That was vast and comprehensive. We look back upon it now, and well may we wonder at the great extent of mind and genius and capacity which influenced the men of the Revolution."



of our own land to have been among the most masterly achievements of the human mind. No councillor in Massachusetts, the theater of the war both of ideas and arms, had taken so active a part in the preparation and passage of those papers as Bowdoin. He not only represented the same liberal and grand ideas that emanated from the Adamses, Warrens, and Otises, but he represented the property class, and possessed an exceptionally large fortune.

John Q Adams says, p. 146, "The committee of five had not been selected without great care, and the members of it closely represented the various interests of the colony. Mr. Bowdoin was of the few favored by fortune above the average who had decidedly embraced the patriot cause."

In John Adams' letter to Timothy Pickering, p. 512, Vol. II, he says:

Cushing, two Adamses, and Paine, all destitute of fortune, four poor pilgrims, proceeded in one coach, were escorted through Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey into Pennsylvania.

We were met at Frankfort by Dr. Rush, Mifflin, Bayard, and several others of the Sons of Liberty in Philadelphia, who desired a conference with us. They asked leave to give us some information and advice, which we thankfully granted. They represented to us that the friends of Government in Boston and the Eastern States had represented us as four desperate adventurers. "Mr. Cushing was a harmless kind of man, but poor; Mr. Samuel Adams was desperately poor; John Adams and Paine were two young lawyers of no great talents, reputation, or weight, who had no other means of raising themselves into consequence than by courting popularity."

- We were all suspected of having independence in view. Now, said they, you must not utter the word "independence," in Congress or in private; if you do, you are undone. No man dares to speak of it; you must not come forward with "any bold meas-

ures; you must not pretend to take the lead." Mr. McDougall and P. V. Livingston, in New York, the week before had taken the same or stronger ground. See his diary, *Ib.*, p. 350.

Not only were the Adamsses and Paine and Cushing hampered by their own limited means and the necessities of their families, but they were warned in advance on their way through New York that they were dreaded by many as levelers and upstarts, who had nothing to lose and everything to gain by overturning affairs. If Bowdoin, the leader of the Massachusetts council for ten years, the son of a councillor, the son-in-law of another wealthy councillor, John Erving, the friend and correspondent of Franklin, and the father-in-law of John Temple, heir to one of the oldest baronetages of England; if this man and this influence had been added to the four intellectual giants who did go, who can tell how it would have strengthened those four! how it would have stopped the mouths of carping Tories! how it would have affected the debates and the declarations of that famous body! who can say that it would not have produced that famous Declaration of Independence, *pari passu* with the Suffolk Resolves, before the snow fell in the autumn of 1774? If that grand declaration had been adopted at once with spontaneous unanimity, closely upon the heels of the acts of parliament, which subverted the charter rights of the Colonies, it might have stayed the commercial hand of Britain before she committed herself irretrievably to a war which added £105,000,000 sterling to her debt, and cut off thousands of her bravest and best lives! Even if it had not so stayed her hand, the assistance from France, which ultimately saved us, would surely have been more prompt than it was. The doubts, the hesitation, the fears, the temporizing policy which delayed that declaration for twenty months, might have been otherwise if the ardent and princely genius of Bowdoin could have been there added to his four great brothers. Even

in old age he had the firmness to put down the rebellion which threatened to obliterate all the good the Revolution had accomplished in Massachusetts. But, alas, sickness, to which all men and women are liable, prostrated both Bowdoin and his wife, just at the period when his services were most needed. The four went without him. On September 6th, 1774, he writes Josiah Quincy that he "has been journeying for two months about the province with Mrs. Bowdoin, on account of her health, the bad state of which has prevented my attending the congress." On June 15th, 1775, Mrs. John Adams writes to her husband: "Mr. Bowdoin and his lady are in the house of Mrs. Borland. He, poor gentleman, is so low that I apprehend he is hastening to a 'house not made with hands.' He looks like a mere skeleton, speaks faint and low, is racked with a violent cough, and I think far advanced in consumption."

Let us now go back to Boston in June, 1774.

On June 3d, Lord Dartmouth had sent instructions to Gov. Gage to enforce the new acts, altering, rather abolishing the charter and the so-called Regulating Act, also commissions for thirty-six councillors to be called *mandamus* councillors.

The official position of James Pitts was thus illegally and without pretense of right, but only by virtue of power and arms, forcibly and forever terminated.

Twenty-four of the *mandamus* councillors accepted. An informal meeting was held August 8, and all were notified to assemble on the 16th for the transaction of business. The governor prepared to support their authority by military force. He had, at his command, troops from famous European battle-fields. One regiment was at Salem where he resided; one at Castle William, in Boston Harbor; one regiment at Fort Hill, and four regiments on the common. Nearly thirty ships of war were in the harbor. He sent for John Pitts and the other selectmen of Boston, and told

them he should execute the law against town meetings. The *mandamus* councillors who accepted felt the storm of public indignation, and many of them resigned.

The continental congress at Philadelphia, on October 10, resolved that all persons in Massachusetts who consented to take office under the new acts ought to be considered wicked tools of the despotism that was preparing to destroy the rights which God, nature, and compact had given to America, and ought to be held in abhorrence by all good men.

They also resolved that if parliament attempt the execution of the late acts in Massachusetts by force, in such case all America ought to support the inhabitants of Massachusetts in their opposition.

John Pitts, who had been, in 1774, an active member of the famous committee of correspondence, increased and broadened the sphere of his labor and influence. On October 16th, 1774, he writes to Mr. Samuel Adams at Philadelphia:

The Committee of Correspondence are firm. In your absence there has been, as usual, the improvement of the ready pens of a Warren and Church—the criticism of a Greenleaf—the vigilance and industry of a Molineaux, and the united wisdom of those who commonly compose the meeting; but when I have been there I have sometimes observed the want of one who never failed to animate. After referring you to Mr. Tudor for particulars of our political affairs, I have only to express my ardent wishes for a happy determination of your Congress, after which that we may see you again as soon as may be, for, as “iron sharpeneth iron, so does the countenance of a man his friend.”

In August, 1774, he was elected one of five members from Boston to attend a county congress at Stoughton; Joseph Warren, William Phillips, Oliver Wendell, and Benjamin Church being the others. The Regulating Act forbade town meetings, but Pitts and the other selectmen

called a meeting, August 16, 1774, for a county congress at Stoughton.

The congress met and adjourned to meet at Dedham, September 6, and on September 9 met again at Milton, and unanimously adopted the famous Suffolk Resolves.

Frothingham says in his *Life of Gen. Warren*, p. 365: "These resolves were adopted by men who were terribly in earnest. They said that 'the power, but not the justice, the vengeance, but not the wisdom of Great Britain were acting with unrelenting severity. That it was an indispensable duty which they owed to God, their country, themselves, and posterity, by all lawful ways and means in their power to maintain, defend, and preserve those civil and religious rights and liberties for which many of their fathers fought, bled, and died, and to hand them down entire to future generations.'"

These resolves were carried to the continental congress by Paul Revere, and they elicited great applause.

On October 27th, 1774, the first provincial congress of Massachusetts met at Salem. Among the first motions put and carried was that "the Hon. James Pitts, Hon. Artemas Ward, John Erving, and the balance of the fifteen councillors elected in May should be desired to attend this congress as the constitutional councillors of this province, as constitutional members of his majesty's council of this colony by the royal charter, chosen to said office last May session," thus ignoring the action of the king and his ministers in appointing the *mandamus* councillors as a violation of the charter.

On the 7th of December, 1774, the town of Boston elected John Pitts as delegate to the second provincial congress, to be held at Cambridge, in February, 1775, his associates being Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Joseph Warren, Benjamin Church, and Oliver Wendell. Samuel Dexter came from Dedham, Joseph

Hawley from Northampton, and Judge Tyng from Dunstable. That congress met at Cambridge, Feb'y 1, 1775; John Hancock was chosen president and Benjamin Lincoln secretary. They immediately appointed, as a committee on the state of the province, Hancock, Hawley, Adams, Warren, Paine, John Pitts, Holton, Heath, Gerrish, Cushing, Ward, and Gardner. Their duties were constant and arduous. The members were placed under pledge of honor not to divulge the debates, and their subjects are left to conjecture. Wells says, p. 260, Vol. II: "The body itself was the most remarkable, in some respects, that had yet convened in America. They were a body of statesmen, mostly untutored in the arts of diplomacy, but not surpassed in any civilized society in the world for intelligence and devotion to the rights of mankind. Courage, determination, sagacity, piety, and all the qualities which compose true greatness in men, were there, and time has proved the consummate wisdom of all their measures."

We next see John Pitts at the Old South Meeting-House, on the 5th of March, 1775. Adams was the moderator, and Gen. Warren delivered an oration on the anniversary of the Boston massacre. A Tory writer says: "On Monday, the Old South Meeting-House was crowded with nobility and fame, the Selectmen, with Adams, Church, Hancock, and Cooper, and others, assembled in the pulpit, which was covered with black; the front seats were filled with British officers. A volcano was ready to burst forth, and the time for the eruption was not far distant."

On the 22d of March, the congress met again, at Concord. The committee on the state of the province digested the measures of the congress, and had them fully prepared before reporting plans of action. There is scarcely an instance where any of their decisions were recommitted.

On the 8th of April, this committee reported a resolve providing for an armed alliance of Massachusetts, Con-



necticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, to raise and equip a general army, and to send delegates to meet those governments. One hundred and three members were present, and only seven voted against it; and, in an incredibly short period, those New-England States alone formed a defensive league against the power of Great Britain.

On the 12th of April, 1775, John Pitts, Nathaniel Bailey, Aaron Davis, Moses Bullen, and Abner Ellis were appointed the Suffolk County committee on the state of the Province. On the 15th of May, John Pitts was added to the committee of supplies; on the 16th of May, he was put upon a committee relative to prisoners at Boston.

On the 7th of June, the congress adopted a resolution, which was the starting-point of that great naval success which so electrified the world in the feats of Commodore John Paul Jones and others:

Ordered that Col. Joseph Warren, John Pitts, Elbridge Gerry, John Hancock, Col. Freeman, Samuel Dexter, Mr. Pickering, Mr. Batchelder, and Mr. Greenleaf be a committee to consider the expediency of establishing a number of small armed vessels to cruise on our sea-coasts for the protection of our trade and the annoyance of our enemies, and to observe secrecy.

From this time on, these ardent laborers for American independence were at work night and day raising troops, supplying arms and materials of war, taking care of the thousands inside of the besieged city of Boston, corresponding with the other colonies and the general continental congress, and their friends in Europe.

I find a letter of John Pitts (in Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, p. 160) from Watertown, July 20, 1775, to Samuel Adams, then at Philadelphia. He says:

"I find the letters in general from you and the rest of our friends complain of not having particular information relative to the late battle of Charlestown. I do assure you the particulars



any further than what I have already wrote you I have not been able to obtain from any one. To be plain, it appears to me there never was more confusion and less command. No one appeared to have any but Col. Prescott, whose bravery can never be enough acknowledged and applauded."

Gen. Washington left Philadelphia on the 21st of June, 1775, and was met by a committee of the provincial congress at Springfield. When he reached Watertown the whole congress honored him with a congratulatory address and promised to contribute all the aid in their power in the discharge of the duties of his exalted office. He replied on July 4, in which he says:

"I only emulate the virtue and public spirit of the whole province of Massachusetts Bay, which, with a firmness and patriotism without example in modern history, has sacrificed all the comforts of social and political life in support of the rights of mankind and the welfare of our common country; my highest ambition is to be the happy instrument of vindicating those rights, and to see this devoted province again restored to peace, liberty, and safety."

Let us pass over the eight months of labor and toil which intervened before the evacuation of Boston by the British, on the 17th of March, 1776—months of deprivation, anxiety, and doubt, with raw recruits badly paid, badly clothed, badly fed, with a city full of people without fuel and almost without provisions, and the necessary irritations between a hireling soldiery and an idle community, staying because they could not go away.

Slowly and surely Gen. Washington encircled the garrisoned town with his offensive intrenchments, and at last the British army, once thought invincible, crept upon their ships and sailed away, and Massachusetts was forever freed from the tread of a foreign foe in arms.

The almost worn-out selectmen of Boston immediately waited on Washington with the following address:

May it please your Excellency: The Selectmen of Boston in behalf of themselves and fellow-citizens, with all grateful respect congratulate you on the success of your military operations in the recovery of this town from an enemy collected from the once respected Britons, who in this instance are characterized by malice and fraud, rapine and plunder in every trace left behind them.

Happy are we that this acquisition has been made with so little effusion of human blood, which, next to the Divine favor, permit us to ascribe to your Excellency's wisdom, evidenced in every part of the long besiegement.

If it be possible to enhance the noble feelings of the person who, from the most affluent enjoyments, could throw himself into the hardships of a camp to save his country, uncertain of success, 't is then possible this victory will heighten your Excellency's happiness, when you consider you have not only saved a large, elegant, and once populous city from total destruction, but relieved the few wretched inhabitants from all the horrors of a besieged town, from the insults and abuses of a disgraced and chagrined army and restored many to their quiet habitations who had fled for safety to the bosom of their country. May your Excellency live to see the just rights of America settled on a firm basis, which felicity we sincerely wish you; and at a late period may that felicity be changed into happiness eternal!

JOHN SCOLLAY,	} <i>Selectmen of Boston.</i>
TIMO. NEWELL,	
THOMAS MARSHALL,	
SAMUEL AUSTIN,	
OLIVER WENDELL,	
JOHN PITTS,	

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GEORGE WASHINGTON,  
*General of the United Forces of America.*

On the 29th of March, a joint committee from the council and house of representatives of Massachusetts waited upon Washington with a long and flattering testimonial.

John Pitts, then not quite thirty-eight years of age, was

a member of that house, but James the councilor was no longer by his side. On the 25th of January, when his beloved city was still in the hands of a vandal soldiery, his patriotic spirit passed away to a world of peace. The only notice I have found of his last sickness is in a letter from John Adams to George Washington, as the latter was about starting for Cambridge to enter upon his great career of glory. Mr. Adams commends Washington to the tried and trusty souls of Massachusetts:

PHILADELPHIA, June, 1775.

"In compliance with your request, I have considered of what you propose, and am obliged to give you my sentiments very briefly, and in great haste.

In general, sir, there will be three committees which are, and will be, composed of our best men, such whose judgment and integrity may be most relied on. I mean the Committee on the State of the Province [of whom John Pitts was one], the Committee of Safety, and the Committee of Supplies.

But, lest this should be too general, I beg leave to mention particularly James Warren, Joseph Hawley, John Winthrop, Dr. Warren, Col. Palmer, and Elbridge Gerry. Mr. Bowdoin, Mr. Sever, and Mr. Dexter, lately of the Council, will be found to be very worthy men, *as well as* MR. [JAMES] PITTS, *who, I am sorry to hear, is in ill health.* The recommendations of these gentlemen may be relied on." (Adams' Works, Vol. IX, p. 359.)

His death was thus announced in No. 1081 of the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal*, February 5, 1776: "On the 25th of January last departed this life at Dunstable, in the 66th year of his age, the Honorable James Pitts, a gentleman who has greatly distinguished himself at our Council Board for inflexible virtue and warm attachment to the common rights of America, during the late corrupt and infamous administration of Bernard and Hutchinson. His death is as much regretted by the Public in the loss of a Patriot as it is felt by his children, family, and acquaint-

ance, to whom he had endeared himself by the most affectionate offices and friendly intercourse in the more private walks of life."

It is sad to think that this noble patriot, after so long and happy and successful a career under the first two Georges, should have passed the last years of his life in such bitter and exciting tumult, and that his health, like that of his brother Bowdoin, should have given way just at the age when he could have rendered his country so much service, and that the last year of his life was spent in physical pain and exile from his once happy home and from the grave of his wife and children. There is no record of his sickness, but among the few papers left by him and now in my possession is one in the handwriting of that idol of the Revolution, Joseph Warren, the martyr of Bunker Hill. It is endorsed in Mr. Pitts' own writing, "Dr. Warren's Advice," and contains a very full prescription and direction.

You may to this day see the house where he died, on the banks of the Merrimac, only a few rods from the future mansions of his son John and Judge Tyng, where these pictures have been lovingly watched and cared for these last hundred years. If he only could have lived two months longer, he might have seen the British ships ingloriously sailing away from his own wharf, with all their hireling soldiery, and his own beloved Boston, the city of his birth, of his marriage, of the birth of all of his noble children, and the graves of all he held dearest, with no flag from any belfry but the flag of liberty—with no council except that elected by the people; little dreaming that in 110 years from that very month his own picture would be exhibited in this hall, preparatory to a new home with his descendants of the fourth generation on the banks of the Detroit.

And now, citizens of Boston, of Massachusetts, of New

England, let me thank you for your kindly attention, and beg of you not to feel that the portraits of your old worthies are passing away from those to whom they rightfully belong, but only from one room to another in the great mother home of us all.

The North-west territory contains as much of the blood and heart of the old Massachusetts Province as is left in her original boundaries. In the case of these particular pictures there are special reasons why their new location will be peculiarly appropriate.

The first governor of that territory was Gen. Arthur St. Clair, whose wife was a granddaughter of James Bowdoin, a cousin of the wife of Gen. Dearborn.

This admirable portrait by Gilbert Stuart of Gen. Henry Dearborn will find its final home in that city which first bore his name when a frontier military post. Chicago, whose commercial arms reach out and embrace the continent, with patriotic sympathies and with kindly and growing love for the arts, will ever loyally and lovingly guard the portrait of him who fought with gun and sword for the birth of a free republic on yonder Bunker Hill.

## APPENDIX.

### A.

EXTRACTS FROM THE AUTHOR'S SCRAP-BOOK EXHIBITED  
AT THE MEETING.

#### RECEIPTS:

BOSTON, 30 April, 1700.

Rec'd then of Mr. John Pitts y<sup>e</sup> summ of fifteen pounds for a pew in the new Church in Brattle Street, No. 22, being that next y<sup>e</sup> west dore on y<sup>e</sup> left hand as one enters s<sup>d</sup> church. To have and enjoy y<sup>e</sup> said pew to him and his heirs so long as he or they shall constantly come to said church and contribute thereto; in default thereof, to resign up s<sup>d</sup> pew unto the Committee for s<sup>d</sup> church for y<sup>e</sup> time being, they allowing said Pitts or his heirs what he now gives for y<sup>e</sup> same.

THO. BRATTLE,  
Treas<sup>r</sup> of s<sup>d</sup> Church.

Mad<sup>m</sup> Eliz<sup>a</sup> Pitts bought of Wm. Stoddard an half pew in the Rev. Mr. Sam<sup>l</sup> Cooper's meeting-house for £2.  
BOSTON, 24th July, 1756. WM. STODDARD.

Rec'd, Boston, May 31, 1799, of John Pitts, Esq., by the hands of Mr. Merrill, one hundred and ninety-two dollars, being the sum assessed to the right of the Heirs and assigns of James Pitts, Esq., deceased, in the second tax voted by the Plymouth Company on the 19th of April, 1798, for the sum of 2376 dollars.  
\$192.

THOMAS L. WINTHROP,  
Treasurer to the Plymouth Co.

#### FROM JOHN HANCOCK TO JAMES PITTS:

TO THE HON<sup>l</sup> JAMES PITTS, ESQ.,

One of the Committee of the Kennebeck Proprietors.

*Hon'ble Sir:*—Such is the situation of my Brother's affairs that there is a necessity of bringing them to a close as soon as possi-

ble, and the only objection in the way is his Tract of land at Kennebeck, which was granted to my late Uncle and by him given to my brother, upon which some dispute arose with Doctor Gardiner about it; my Brother's creditors are here from England, and I am bound in honour to make the most of everything for them, and of consequence am desirous of turning this Tract of Land to the greatest advantage for them; I must therefore beg the fav<sup>r</sup> of you, Sir, and you will excuse the liberty I take, as your meeting is to be this evening, to mention this matter, and pray your Influence and interposition that it may be accommodated. I want nothing but justice, and that I think I am entitled to. If it be Doc. Gardiner's property, I have no right to it; if it be mine, I have a right to control it. I would by all means rational avoid even the appearance of a law-suit with Dr. Gardiner, if it may be otherways settled, but for the honour of my Brother I must see into it. I would ask the fav<sup>r</sup> of you, Sir, just to use your endeavors to bring this to a close.

I would beg leave to mention that when it is agreeable to the Committee that I should exhibit my acc't of cash advanced Mr. Goostrey in London, as well as Mr. Smith at Kennebeck, I am ready to do it.

I am with great respect to you and the other Gent<sup>l</sup> of the Committee. Your Obliged and humble Servt,

Wednesday noon, Feb'y 13, 1771.

JOHN HANCOCK.

#### ELIPHALET FITCH TO JAMES PITTS.

KINGSTON, JAM<sup>A</sup>, Jan'y 1, 1775.

SIR:—The very kind and particular regard you have shewn me on all occasions cannot fail to excite my warmest wishes for the continuance of your welfare, and at this season lead me to wish you the return of many happy years. I may not wish you an uninterrupted tranquility, for in the varied scenes of life its pleasures are to be found. 'Tis perhaps from the reflection on dangers averted and difficulties overcome that we sometimes feel the highest enjoyment; but I will venture no further on this topic, lest you should suspect me to be, what I certainly am not, a moralist.

The jealous attention to the public Liberty which has appeared in all parts of the Continent will, I hope, ere long be crowned with success. As a favorable circumstance, I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the Assembly of this Island have last week passed a Memorial to the King petitioning the Repeal of all the late Acts of Parliaments respecting America. This Petition is to be forwarded the 7th instant, per the Grantham Packet; but as I



conceive it may be useful to the cause to have the matter known with you as soon as possible, I have procured a copy of it, which is now under cover. You will permit me on this occasion to observe that your Honour is pledged with mine that this Petition shall not be committed to the Press; to avoid which no person should be permitted to take a copy of it. Such step would be considered here as a very high indecorum and might bring the severest censure of the House on the worthy and intimate friend from whom I obtained the original draft of this Memorial. Moreover, an early publication of it with you might injure its reception at home. Any other communication of it to your friends is both honorable and safe.

I doubt not the sentiments it offers to the King will be approved by our Friends, altho' the diction may not equally claim their applause, but in all cases the substance and not the shadow is to be regarded. The Time will not permit me to offer anything more than my kind regards to my friends, Miss Pitts, Mr. John Pitts, and the young Gentlemen, which you will please to communicate, and believe me always with gratitude and respect,

Your most Obedt, Humble Servt, ELIPHT FITCH.

P. S.—My respectful compliments are due to Mr. Bowdoin.  
Hon<sup>ble</sup> JAMES PITTS, Esq<sup>r</sup>.

#### GOV. BOWDOIN TO JOHN PITTS:

Mem<sup>o</sup>. Mr. Flucker paid Mrs. Bayard to Sept. 19, 1774; there will therefore be 4 years' interest due from him in Sept., 1778. It is proposed that two years' interest, in behalf of Mr. Flucker, should be advanced to her. Mr. Bowd<sup>o</sup> to pay one of them, which will be to Sept. 19, 1775, and Mr. Pitts the other, to Sept. 19, 1776; for which Mrs. Bayard is to give an order on Mr. Flucker to each of them of the tenor in y<sup>e</sup> enclosed paper. The other two years interest may be paid to her if necessary in Sept., 1778, or after; and in order that it should not be inferred from these payments that we supposed ourselves obliged to make good Mr. Flucker's deficiencies, Mrs. and Mr. Bayard must write to each of us a letter of the same tenor with the enclosed:

MIDDLEBOR<sup>o</sup>, Dec. 6, 1777.

JOHN PITTS, Esq.

Sir:—The foregoing is in substance what I desired Jemmy to communicate to you, which he wrote me you approved of. I have desired Mr. Read to pay Mrs. Bayard in behalf of Mr. Flucker, and to take her order therefor on him. This will be for the year from Sept., 1774, to Sept., 1775; your payment will be

for the year next after, which in the order you take you will take care to mention. If you think proper you will copy the enclosed letter and order above mentioned *mutatis mutandis*, and then deliver them to Mr. Read, that he may get them signed and pay the money aforesaid.

Pray when are we to come to the wedding [meaning to Miss Tyng]. Our compliments to the lady and also to Betsey.

I am respectfully, dear Sir, your most obedient Servt,

JAMES BOWDOIN.

#### GOV. BOWDOIN TO SENATOR JOHN PITTS:

MIDDLEBORO, March 3, 1778.

DEAR SIR:—Inclosed is a letter from Major Goodwin which I have just received. The contents of it, I think, ought to be attended to by the Kennebec Company as well as by Individuals. The land on Sandy River mentioned therein I suppose is the same ye company sold in March, 1775, at public vendue, which sale being not yet fully settled, it is needful they should take the necessary measures for preventing people settling on it or gaining a possession of it. The lands on y<sup>e</sup> back of Bowdoinham, Richmond, &c., it is incumbent on Individuals to see about. Your family, Mr. Hancock's heirs, Mr. Jeffries, &c., have large tracts there, in which they will be great sufferers if they do not dispossess the invaders. My own is secured, having 12 or 15 good families settled thereon.

I have lately had a demand on me of a tax on land in one of y<sup>e</sup> towns on Kennebec River in consequence of the new mode of taxation. This ought to be attended to both by Individuals and the Company, according as they are respectively interested, lest their land be sold for taxes without their knowing anything about it.

How go on y<sup>e</sup> Constitution, Confederation, &c.? Is Mr. Burgoyne to be removed? When and where? Is Phil<sup>a</sup> to be attempted this season? What have you been about, what are you doing or going to do in ye Gen<sup>l</sup> Court? When is Dr. Cooper to make you and a certain Lady happy? Our best regards to both you and to Betsey.

Your most obedt,

J. BOWDOIN.

Mr. Pitts,—Where is Mr. Sever?

I perceive it is intended that you and I shall make good to Mr. Bayard's children the deficiency of Mr. Flucker; which whatever y<sup>e</sup> law may determine would be contrary to every principle of equity and justice. I think therefore that some care should be

taken about Mr. Flucker's estate and his lands at the Eastward; at least to prevent their falling into improper hands, as they must do if anybody at y<sup>e</sup> Eastward should take upon them y<sup>e</sup> Agency. I would therefore suggest to you whether, as you are a considerable creditor, it would not be needful for you to apply for y<sup>e</sup> agency, or if you should decline it, to see that some faithful person in or near Boston be appointed y<sup>e</sup> agent. Possibly Mr. Savage would undertake. However, to prevent an improper appointment, it would be best for you to write to the Judge of Probate for y<sup>e</sup> County of Lincoln (who, I think, is Jon<sup>d</sup> Bowman, Esq., at Pownalboro), and also to y<sup>e</sup> Judge in y<sup>e</sup> County of Cumberland, on this head: and to speak to Mr. Cushing, y<sup>e</sup> Judge for Suffolk. I had several other things to mention to you, but I have so much of my old disorder upon me that I can write no more than to desire you to present my respectful compliments to Gen<sup>l</sup> Hancock, Mr. Speaker Adams, and Mr. Secy Warren.

#### SENATOR JOHN PITTS TO COL. JONATHAN WARNER:

BOSTON, April 21st, 1781.

DEAR BROTHER: — I have had the pleasure to receive your favors by Mr. Whipple and Mr. Langdon, and we are glad to hear you and sister Warner are well. Mrs. Pitts and myself are much obliged by every expression of your regard and kind wishes for recovery of her health, which I have the pleasure to inform you is in a better state than when I wrote you last; so that she has been able to give that attention to poor little Betsey that her dangerous situation required. Yesterday week she was taken ill of the dysentery, and for several days we despaired her life, but she is better. It operated very severely on Mrs. Pitts in her weak state, altho she was better, and so overwhelmed in anxiety and distress that it's surprising she was able to go through the fatigue she did, and indeed the distress of us all has been great. I therefore suppose that Betsey will not require an apology for Miss Fanny in not getting her things ready, which will be done as soon as possible.

The box of plate is not yet come from Mr. Savage, but not for want of being put in mind of it by me. I will make a point to see him about it again.

We have no news of importance except the battle to the Southward with Green and Cornwallis—the former was obliged to retreat with the loss of his cannon, and about 300 killed and wounded; but we have an account since that action that Corn-

wallis is obliged to retreat with precipitation, as you will perceive by the inclosed handbills.

Mrs. Pitts and Fanny with me present our most affectionate regards to you and sister Warner.

I am, Sir, with due esteem, your affectionate Brother,  
JOHN PITTS.  
 To JONATHAN WARNER, Esqr.

SENATOR JOHN PITTS TO COL. JONATHAN WARNER:

BOSTON, November 1, 1782.

DEAR BROTHER:—I was very glad to hear by Mr. Henderson that you all got well home, where I hope you found the old Lady well, to whom please to present my respectful compliments, also to Col. Sherburn, who I will do myself the pleasure to call and see whenever I go to Portsmouth again. \* \* \*

Uncle Bowdoin has been extremely ill with his old disorder, but is much better. Col. Tyng a few days past came to Town and insisted upon carrying little Betsey to Dunstable, where I expect to go tomorrow to bring her home. If I should not, I shall write by Brigdier Preble, as the Court propose to rise next Wednesday. We have no news. As to the prospect of peace, I do not think it looks so probable as at some time past. The French fleet talks of sailing soon, but I much doubt whether they will. The cry from Rob't Morris for money is great, and I am informed that all the money collected by Mr. Lovell is not as yet more than sufficient for one week's demand of the whole sum that is to be collected. This is a gloomy story, but we must not now abate of the utmost vigor in prosecuting the war, for the enemy, there is reason to think, is not better off. We now talk of a tax of six hundred thousand pounds specie; where it is to come from the Lord knows. What is mentioned respecting the Continental collection of tax is best to be kept to ourselves.

At present I have only to add my best regards to you and sister Warner, and am your affectionate Brother,

JNO. PITTS.

Hon<sup>d</sup> JON<sup>A</sup> WARNER, Esq.

SENATOR JOHN PITTS TO COL. JONATHAN WARNER:

DUNSTABLE, June 25, 1786.

DEAR BROTHER:—I was very sorry to hear by Brother Lendall that you were unwell—hope you are better. By him I understand that Betsey will take care of her little namesake, which, be-

ing so early deprived of its mother, must stand in need of her friendship, and it gives me pleasure that it is so well bestowed, not only for the sake of the child, but because I think Lendall is very unfortunate to have so many to take care of, for we men are not calculated to bring up children at so early a period, which I have had sad experience of. I was in hopes of seeing you before this time, and carrying my little girl to see you and sister Warner, but my situation has been such as not to be in my power, but hope when the Lottery is completed drawing, and one or two other matters are over, it will be in my power. My best regards attend Betsey and you, and respectful compliments to the old Lady. My regards also to the Buttons, which, by this time, I suppose, are large enough to be connected with a Coat of any size. My little rake, tell Betsey, is a great singer, and that Mrs. Hughes, Sargent, or any of her sex can't out-talk her, and, in general, has the female weapon in full exercise, and can be saucy enough.

Miss Betsey Temple is very soon to be connected with Mr. Thomas L. Winthrop, and Mrs. Temple is expected next week to y<sup>e</sup> celebration of the nuptials.

The woods of Dunstable will not afford any news, nor do I find much in Boston, but there is as much luxury there, with as little ability, as I suppose in any place on the Globe; and the state of our Politics is such as is destructive to trade, so that the state of the Town appears melancholy, for they are living upon one another.

Col. Tyng [82 years old] has commenced young man again, and is upon the wings of an airy Fancy, expecting to go to Boston and from thence to Falmouth. Whether the vehicle will be a balloon or what to transport him, I can't say. If I should be of the party you may expect us to drop in upon you according to the manner of the transportation. At any rate, I hope it will not be long before I see you.

Your affectionate Brother,

JOHN PITTS.

HON. JON<sup>A</sup> WARNER, Esqr.

WM. DAVIS TO HIS SON-IN-LAW SAMUEL PITTS:

BOSTON, 31st March, 1796. (Fast day).

DEAR SON PITTS:—I received yours, per Mr. Bagley, and as I did not incline to sue S. W., I gave the note to James to follow your directions. I am very unhappy to hear of your ill turn. I hope it will be but of one day's duration. Pray keep up your spirits and not let them slip into your shoes. We are all rejoiced

to hear that our dear daughter Pitts is on the recovery. Pray tell her from me that she must be exceedingly careful of herself, not to take cold, and leave the care of her family for some time to come.

Important to the United States is the decision of 62 members of congress in favor of calling for the papers from the President relative to the late treaty with Britain against 37 members who were in favor thereof. Depend that all things will come out right. The Aristocrats begin to hang their heads. Now for our tried Patriot, Samuel Adams! The old inveterate Torys are trying all in their power here to oust him, but their efforts will prove abortive. We shall have a large majority for him here and Charlestown, Lexington, Roxbury, Dorchester, Milton, Braintree, Plymouth, Sandwich, and Worster, and chief y<sup>e</sup> Province of Maine. Exert yourself *every nerve* in *Chelmsford* for him, and also in Tyngsboro. Thomas brings the newspaper where you'll find considerable news, and among the news are the resolutions of the State of Georgia relative to Gunn's rascally proceedings in regard to the sale of the Georgia lands. The Georgia bubble is broke, to the great dismay of speculators and evil designing land-jobbers. It will make a heavy shaking among the dry bones.

Mr. Pitts, I hope the Rev<sup>d</sup> will not interest himself in the present choice for a Gov<sup>n</sup> more than *his vote*, and would not wish him enemys, having a high esteem for him. Remember that *S. Adams stood in the gap in 1775*, and in Gage's Administration which tryed men's souls, and those Pigmys who now bark at him were afraid to shew their heads. Remember also that many who now vote in their carriages are beholden to that same Patriot, who was the chief Instrument in procuring their fortunes for them by the glorious Revolution, who otherwise would have been in obscurity even to this moment. Is not this a truth? Why then should y<sup>e</sup> old '75 men not exert themselves for this tryed Patriot and counterset their evil machinations who endeavor all in their power to set him aside.

Wishing you a speedy recovery and your consort, I salute you and am your affectionate

WM. DAVIS.

#### JAMES MERRILL TO COL. WARNER:

BOSTON, Aug. 7, 1798.

DEAR SIR:—I last Saturday wrote you by Post to inform you of the sickness and of my great anxiety about our young friend, James L. Pitts, son of your late brother Lendall Pitts, which was



designed to prepare the minds of his two sisters for more melancholy tidings, which I expected would soon reach them, and also for your and Mrs. Warner's information of the anxious fears I had concerning him.

I did all in my power by providing as able physicians as this Town afforded, but all to no effect. I have now the melancholy task assigned me to inform you he is dead. He died on Sunday, and I attended his remains and saw them safely deposited that evening in the Family tomb. Thus ends the short life of an agreeable and promising young man. I have not now time to write to his sister particularly. I must beg of you to advise them in my behalf. Do be so good as to particularly inform them that I heartily sympathize and condole with them on the loss of a promising and beloved brother, one from whom they had reason to anticipate much pleasure; but as he is now gone, I know you will afford them every possible consolation. You may rest assured that everything necessary was provided for him even to his last moments.

I have this morning sent up to Mrs. Tarbett for her to inform me what mourning to provide for his sisters, and shall send it by next opportunity. I hope this fever has not increased since I last wrote you. I am, dear Sir, your very humble servant,

JAMES MERRILL.

JON<sup>A</sup> WARNER, Esqr.

#### SENATOR JOHN PITTS TO COL. WARNER :

BOSTON, July 5, 1802.

DEAR BROTHER:—I have been here almost a fortnight to have settlement with the late Gov. Gill's Executor about Mr. John Boylston's legacy to the Town of Boston, which is not quite brought to a close, and it has been the occasion of great vexation to me. As soon as it is closed I shall return to Tyngsboro, and Betsey and myself propose to see you and Betsey at Portsmouth. We have been much concerned to hear that my sister has been unwell and hope she is recovered to health. We expected to have had the pleasure to have seen you before this time, which prevented my writing when I was last in town.

My best regards to you, Betsey, and the rest of the family, in which Betsey and Mother Brinley respectfully join with me.

I am your affectionate Brother, JOHN PITTS.

Hon. Mr. WARNER.



## COL. WARNER TO JAMES MERRILL:

PORTSMOUTH, Oct. 3, 1804.

MR. JAMES MERRILL:—I rec'd a letter from my brother, John Pitts, Esq. He mentioned that Mrs. Warner's picture from Mr. Bowdoin's should be left in your care, which I desire you would be so good as to ship me by one of our vessels to this Port, begging their care of it.

I have not heard anything from you about my Island wharf privilege. My brother mentioned that the Selectmen have determined that the Flats privilege is forfeited by the sea wall not being maintained, which was the condition of the grant. This can not be. Their Grant was in 1673 and the Proprietor has been in the possession from that time, upwards of 130 years. My Hon' Father Pitts bought by deed of warranty which you have. Peter Chardon's deed, May, 1758. Charnock's deed, 1731. Thos. Greenough deed, 1744. Mr. Bowdoin's deed of his father was in 1750, a quit claim, but his father bought more than forty years, which gives a good title.

Mr. Priner says that Sandford's land originally 1000 acres under one Joliff—but grants made to settlers have impaired it, so that there may not remain more than 600 acres. My Hon. Mother Pitts' right is  $\frac{1}{7}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of  $\frac{1}{7}$ , which makes her part about 106 acres. My wife's part of this being  $\frac{1}{6}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of  $\frac{1}{6}$  makes about  $21\frac{1}{4}$  acres. Mr. Priner also says the whole in the associates land under Westbrook is about 1700 acres.  $\frac{1}{7}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of  $\frac{1}{7}$  is about 300 acres. My wife's part of this being  $\frac{1}{6}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of  $\frac{1}{6}$  makes  $62\frac{1}{2}$  acres, so that my part of both tracts will be  $83\frac{3}{4}$  acres.

The west Boston lands Brother John Pitts, in his letter Oct. 5th. says shall be advertized for sale. Give me word about Pt. Shirley when it is divided.

As to Pulling point farm, we will consent to sell. I have had an offer for my water privilege—this offer may be from Boston.

My regards to all the family, and am with esteem,

Your most obedient, JONATHAN WARNER.

Col. Jonathan Warner of Portsmouth, N.H., married, Feb. 17, 1781, Elizabeth Pitts, only daughter of James and Elizabeth Bowdoin Pitts. He was son of Hon. Daniel and Sarah Hill Warner. He was born Sept. 6, 1726, and died May 14, 1814.—(Wentworth's Gen. 3, p. 316.) Her portrait was painted by Copley, and is owned by Thomas Pitts of Detroit. Col. Warner was

painted by Blackburn, and is a three-quarter picture, and a fine example of the artist. It is now owned by the Boston Museum. Mrs. Warner died in 1810, and left her estate to her husband, which on his death was devised by him, one-half to the children of Lendall Pitts of the tea-party and the other half to his niece, Mrs. Elizabeth Sherburne. The fine old family mansion, 46 Daniel Street, is still standing, and said to be the oldest in Portsmouth. The lightning-rod is said to have been placed on it under the supervision of Franklin, and the first ever used in New Hampshire.

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## B.

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### PORTRAITS.

Partial list of portraits of James Bowdoin, his descendants, and intermarried, to the fifth generation:

#### FIRST GENERATION.

James Bowdoin (by Badger), owned by Bowdoin College; a duplicate by Badger is owned by Thos. Pitts of Detroit.

#### SECOND GENERATION.

Wm. Bowdoin, owned by Bowdoin College.

Phoebe Murdock, wife of Wm. Bowdoin, owned by Bowdoin College.

Elizabeth Bowdoin, wife of James Pitts (by Blackburn, 1757), owned by Thos. Pitts.

James Pitts, husband of Eliz. Bowdoin (by Blackburn, 1757), owned by Thos. Pitts.

Gov. James Bowdoin, cabinet portrait by Copley, owned by R. C. Winthrop.\*

Elizabeth Erving, wife of Gov. Jas. Bowdoin. Portraits of Gov. Bowdoin and wife by R. Feke, owned by Bowdoin College.

Thomas Flucker (by Copley), husband of Judith Bowdoin, in the possession of Bowdoin College.

#### THIRD GENERATION.

James Bowdoin (by Gilbert Stuart), owned by Bowdoin College. R. C. Winthrop also owns a miniature by Malbone.

Sarah Bowdoin (by Gilbert Stuart), owned by Bowdoin College.

\* R. C. W. also owns a miniature of Gov. Jas. Bowdoin, by Copley.

Maj.-Gen. Henry Dearborn (by G. Stuart), second husband of Sarah Bowdoin, owned by the Calumet Club, Chicago.

Copies are owned by the U.-S. War Department at Washington, by the Chicago Historical Society, by the State House at Concord, N. H., by the New-England Museum, and by Mrs. Winthrop G. Ray, New York. Gen. Dearborn, painted by C. W. Peale, is at Independence Hall, Phila., and by John Trumbull in the "Surrender of Burgoyne," in the Rotunda of the Capitol at Washington.

Elizabeth Bowdoin (by G. Stuart), wife of Sir John Temple, in the possession of R. C. Winthrop. Bowdoin College also owns a portrait of her and her brother, James Bowdoin, as children, by Gilbert Stuart.

Sir John Temple (by G. Stuart), husband of Elizabeth Bowdoin, in the possession of R. C. Winthrop. The Temple family in England own large  $\frac{3}{4}$  portraits of Sir John and Lady Temple, by Trumbull. T. L. Winthrop of Ryde, Eng., owns a cabinet portrait of Sir John Temple, by Copley.

Elizabeth Pitts (by Copley), wife of Jonathan Warner, owned by Thos. Pitts.

Col. Jonathan Warner (by Blackburn), husband of Eliz. Pitts, owned by Boston Museum.

Samuel Pitts (by Copley), owned by the estate of the late Samuel Pitts. A copy is owned by James P. Bridge.

Lendall Pitts, miniature, owned by Lendall Pitts Cazeau.

Elizabeth Fitch, wife of Lendall Pitts, miniature owned by Lendall Pitts Cazeau. There are portraits by Copley of her parents, Timothy Fitch and wife, at Plummer Hall, Salem.

#### FOURTH GENERATION.

Maj.-Gen. Arthur St. Clair (by C. W. Peale), husband of Phœbe Bayard, daughter of Mary Bowdoin and Balthazar Bayard, at Independence Hall, Phila.; engraved for Smith's "The St. Clair Papers," which also includes a Life of St. Clair. The Hist. Society of Penn. has a copy by Sword. St. Clair was also painted by John Trumbull. There is also a miniature made at the close of the war, which is to be engraved by the Hist. Magazine of Penn.; also a miniature on ivory owned by Miss Mary R. Sheets of Indianapolis, Ind.

Sir Grenville Temple (by Trumbull), son of Sir John and Elizabeth Bowdoin Temple. R. C. Winthrop owns a drawing of James Temple-Bowdoin, brother of Sir Grenville Temple.

Elizabeth Temple (by Stuart), wife of Gov. Thos. Lindall Winthrop, owned by R. C. Winthrop.

- Gov. Thos. L. Winthrop (by Osgood), husband of Eliz. Bowdoin Temple, owned by Mass. Historical Society.  
 Same (by Osgood), owned by R. C. Winthrop, Jr.  
 Same (by Sully), owned by R. C. Winthrop. Three in all.  
 Elizabeth Pitts (by Lawson of Lowell), wife of Robert Brinley, owned by W. B. Brinley.  
 Robert Brinley (by Lawson), husband of Eliz. Pitts, owned by W. B. Brinley.  
 Maj. Thos. Pitts, silhouette, owned by Mrs. Henry B. Brown.  
 Mrs. Chas. Dudley Farlin owns a portrait of Jonathan Mountfort of Boston (by Copley), father-in-law of Maj. Thos. Pitts.

FIFTH GENERATION.

- Louisa St. Clair married to Lieut. Robb of the Revolutionary Army, a silhouette in Peale's Museum of 1829.  
 Elizabeth Bowdoin Temple Winthrop (by Gilbert Stuart), wife of Rev. Benj. Tappan, owned by Mrs. E. B. Webb. R. C. Winthrop owns a copy by the same artist.  
 Sarah Bowdoin (painted in Paris by a French artist), wife of Geo. Sullivan.  
 Hon. Robert C. Winthrop (by Huntington), in the Speaker's Gallery at Washington, and another owned by Mass. Hist. Soc. Same (by Healy). He has been painted three times by Huntington and once by Healy.  
 Samuel Pitts (by Cole of Portland, also by Stanley at Detroit), owned by Sarah M. Pitts.  
 Sarah Merrill, wife of Samuel Pitts, owned by Sarah M. Pitts. Life-size crayon portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Pitts (by Fred'k E. Wright at Boston) owned by Mrs. Daniel Goodwin.  
 Frances Pitts (by Dr. Sanctis of Rome, Italy), wife of Charles Merrill, owned by her daughter, Mrs. Senator Thomas W. Palmer.  
 Charles Merrill, husband of Frances Pitts, also owned by Mrs. Palmer.

## C.

## PORTRAIT OF GEN. DEARBORN.

Gen. Henry Dearborn's portrait was sent to Chicago and presented to the Calumet Club on May 20, 1886, on occasion of their eighth annual reception to the old settlers who were residents of Chicago and of age prior to 1840. The beautiful building was filled with the old settlers, the members of the Club, and their wives and daughters.

After an eloquent address of welcome to the old settlers by H. J. Macfarland, president of the Calumet Club, he introduced Mr. L. J. Gage, president of the Commercial Club of Chicago, who presented the portrait of Gen. Henry Dearborn to the Calumet Club on behalf of the following gentlemen:

C. W. ALLEN,	WM. A. FULLER,	EDSON KEITH,
URI BALCOM,	LYMAN J. GAGE,	H. J. MACFARLAND,
J. W. DOANE,	W. C. D. GRANNIS,	GEO. M. PULLMAN,
JOHN B. DRAKE,	C. M. HENDERSON,	MARTIN RYERSON,
N. K. FAIRBANK,	WM. G. HIBBARD,	LOUIS WAMPOLD,
	CHAS. L. HUTCHINSON.	

Mr. Gage said:

MR. PRESIDENT:—About one year ago, that small body of gentlemen known as the Commercial Club of Chicago made a visit to the City of Boston in response to the invitation of a similar organization in that city. While there, the attention of some of our members was attracted to a celebrated painting executed by an American artist, the products of whose genius has given a lasting denial to the old affirmation that art can never flourish under free institutions. The name of that painter was Gilbert Stuart, and it is now my pleasant duty, on behalf of my associates,—who, after months of negotiation, have succeeded in buying it from its late owners,—to present this work to the Calumet Club.

This occasion fits well the picture and the picture suits well to this occasion. You have with you as honored guests a noble company of men and women whose names are intimately associated with Chicago's earliest days. The record of their doings must furnish the elements from which our past history is to be drawn. It seems therefore peculiarly appropriate that in this

presence there should be exposed to view for the first time in Chicago. Stuart's original portrait of Maj.-Gen. Henry Dearborn. The early military outpost at Chicago was named for him in recognition of his distinguished service as a soldier of the Revolution, and when afterward he became secretary of war, his mind and thought were given to its maintenance and support. Under the protecting guns of that rude fortress many of these, your guests, found peace and safety. And now, sir, without further delay, I commit to your keeping this historic treasure. The sympathy and affection you have so well shown to the survivors of our early days is a sufficient guarantee that this canvas, made alive by American genius and made eloquent by historic associations, will be carefully cherished by you. I hand you herewith the muniments of title and the names of those whom I have the honor to represent.

President Macfarland responded as follows:

In behalf of the Calumet Club, I thank you and the gentlemen you represent for the generous gift of so rare and valuable a portrait of Gen. Henry Dearborn, whose name is so closely linked with the history of Chicago.

We will cherish it for the memory of the eminent man whose likeness it is. We will cherish it for the fame of the great master who painted it, and of whose skill it is so marked an example. We will cherish it for these old settlers of Chicago, whom, by this presentation, you and your associates wish to honor. We will cherish it for the respect and good-will of the generous donors who gave it. We will hang it in a prominent place upon these walls, and reverently preserve it for our successors.

We sincerely and heartily thank those members of the Commercial Club who have, through you, sir, given us possession of such a treasure of art to decorate our Club-house.

President Macfarland said the Club was fortunate in having present one who knew the history of the Dearborn family and of this portrait. He then introduced Daniel Goodwin, Jr., who said:

MR. PRESIDENT:—It is with great pleasure I comply with your request to say a few words about the portrait of Gen. Dearborn. While investigating the facts of his life, I became acquainted with this portrait, and conceived the hope that it might ultimately be owned in Chicago. I first saw it in the home of his grandson, Henry G. R. Dearborn of Roxbury, in



1883. The owner was then 74 years old, and remembered the picture as having been in the family since his childhood. It was painted by Gilbert Stuart in Boston in 1812, the year in which Dearborn was appointed major-general by President Madison. Stuart was then in the very prime of his days and at the height of his fame, and the most celebrated portrait painter of that period. His portraits of Washington and the generals of the Revolution, of George III. and George IV., the duke of Northumberland, and of Benjamin West, and Trumbull, and Sir Joshua Reynolds had placed him in the front rank of that most celebrated band of portrait painters.

And here I feel sure I will be pardoned for calling attention to the fact that America took high rank from its very birth in art as it did in war, politics, and statesmanship. The very best minds of Great Britain and America have often eulogized the warriors and statesmen of our Revolution and the era of the adoption of the constitution as men never surpassed in recorded history for the breadth and vastness of their ideas and the power and energy with which they expressed them. Looking back to that seething furnace of ideas and heroic deeds, the artist has been but slightly remembered; but where, I ask, can you find in any country or era such a company of portrait-painters as Copley, West, Trumbull, Sully, Allston, Peale, and Stuart? You may look in vain through the national galleries of Europe for any such collection of faces as have come down to us from those American pencils.

When Washington Allston exhibited to Sully one of Stuart's masterpieces, Sully said: "I never saw a Rembrandt, Rubens, Van Dyck, or Titian equal to it. What say you?" Allston answered: "I say that all combined could not have equaled it." In 1812, after his portraits of Washington had made Stuart immortal, he painted this rare work of art, and its companion piece, the younger Gen. Dearborn, then collector of the port of Boston. This portrait has been in the possession of the family ever since until now. It first hung in the old Brinley place at Roxbury, then after Gen. Dearborn's marriage to Sarah Bowdoin, widow of James Bowdoin, the chief patron of Bowdoin College, it hung in their residence in Boston, corner of Milk and Hawley Streets, in the same house where her kinsman, Robert C. Winthrop, was born. In that old mansion this picture looked down upon the festal gatherings of Lafayette and his companions in arms, and in 1817 upon a great ball given to President Monroe. The portrait has been copied six times; once by Stuart himself for some member of the family, and now owned by Mrs. Winthrop G. Ray of New York; once by Brackett, for the war



department at Washington; once by Cole, for Col. Joshua Howard of Detroit; once by Tenney, for the statehouse at Concord; once by Greenleaf, for the New-England museum, and lastly for the Chicago Historical Society, and presented to it on the eightieth anniversary of the first occupation of Fort Dearborn.

Stuart painted another portrait of Gen. Dearborn on a panel, which he gave to his pupil, Neagle, and which is now owned by Mr. Herbert Welsh of Philadelphia. Mason says "it represents a large, fleshy-faced, but fine-looking man, with short gray hair, coming nearly to a point on the crown of the head, blue eyes, without high lights, looking at the spectator with a quiet, kindly expression. The mouth is painted as only an artist of the highest order could paint it, with a faint smile lurking around the corners, giving the idea that the figure is about to speak in reply to some remark that has been made. The coat, rich in color, is a brownish black, and on the breast hangs the order of the Cincinnati."

There is a portrait of Gen. Dearborn, by Charles Wilson Peale, in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, and another in the "Surrender of Burgoyne," by Trumbull, in the rotunda of our national capitol. I know of no other general but Washington who was painted by three such artists as Trumbull, Peale, and Stuart. I congratulate this Club on possessing the finest picture of them all. When his grandson died, in 1884, the widow soon discovered that it would be necessary to sell the portrait, but never offered it for sale, and waited in hope that some institution in Chicago would offer to give it a permanent home, feeling that there was no place so appropriate for the original picture as Chicago. Happily some members of our ever-generous Commercial Club saw the picture in the old state-house, and have paid a liberal price to present it to this Calumet Club.

Last week a notable company of Bostonians took leave of this picture of their old hero, and greeted with hearty feeling the concluding sentiment of the speaker on that occasion.

## D.

## EARLY PAINTERS OF BOSTONIANS.

- John Smibert, - - - painted in Boston from 1728 to 1750.  
 Joseph Badger, - - - " " " 1740 to 1750.  
 Jonathan Blackburn, " " " 1750 to 1765.  
 John Singleton Copley, " " " 1754 to 1774.  
 Benjamin West, painted mostly in Philadelphia and New York, from 1754 to 1760, and among others painted several Bostonians.
- Charles Wilson Peale, the earliest painter of Gen. Washington, between 1776 and 1826 painted many of the leading Bostonians, numbers of them now hang in Independence Hall. Philadelphia: Franklin, Hancock, Greene, Lincoln, Pickering, Stuart, Adams, Ward, Dearborn, Knox, St. Clair, Warren, and others.
- John Trumbull graduated at Harvard in 1773, and studied his art first in Boston, and ultimately painted nearly all the Boston soldiers and statesmen of the Revolution.
- Col. Henry Sargent painted Peter Faneuil, now hanging in Faneuil Hall, about 1790.
- Gilbert Stuart painted mostly in Boston, from 1793 to 1828.
- Edward G. Malbone, painted in Boston from 1800 to 1807.
- Washington Allston, graduated at Harvard in 1800, and painted in Boston and Cambridge from 1817 to 1840.
- Thomas Sully, painted in Boston in 1831, and at different times and places painted prominent Bostonians.
- Chester Harding was the popular painter in Boston in 1823, his picture of Webster making him celebrated.
- Daniel Huntington began to paint about 1840, and in his famous Republican Court he introduced several Bostonians from the original pictures of Copley, Malbone, and Stuart.
- Wm. H. Furness had his studio in Boston, and, though dying at 40 in 1867, left many of the finest canvases of a generation already disappearing.

GEORGE P. A. HEALY.

It is fitting that this list should close with the name of one who will be remembered by future generations as peculiarly identified with both Boston and Chicago. He was born in the City of Boston in 1813, and every visitor of Faneuil Hall sees there one of his best examples and one of the finest historic

pieces ever painted, "Webster's reply to Hayne," which contains not only the grand, rugged, and fascinating head of Webster himself, but one hundred and thirty portraits of the senators and celebrities of 1830.

As Gilbert Stuart was a connecting link between the colonial era and the succeeding age of full republican success, so Healy is today the connecting link between the age of Stuart, closed in 1828, and the today of 1886, and most emphatically a connecting link between the art and history of Boston and the art and history of Chicago. It is not a little remarkable that some of the finest works of the artist who died nearly sixty years ago were heads painted also by our Healy of today, Daniel Webster, Edward Everett, and others.

Mr. Healy was a boy in Boston when Stuart died, and it was Stuart's daughter—herself a first-class artist—who first perceived the signs of genius in young Healy. She introduced him to Sully, who asked him to copy one of Gilbert Stuart's heads. When it was completed, Sully said to him: "By all means, Mr. Healy, make painting your profession." Like Stuart, he has roved over the best parts of Europe and America, and painted many of the royal families of England, France, and Germany, and hundreds of the most famous men of America.

Mr. Henry T. Tuckerman truly said: "Rugged, forcible, characteristic, the portraits of Healy, when the subject is favorable and the artist in earnest, are among the best of their kind, and probably no American painter of our day has delineated so many eminent men. The West has afforded him a new and profitable field of late years, and he has made his headquarters at Chicago."

Mr. Healy painted in Boston from 1831 to 1834, and then went to Italy. He returned in 1838, by express desire of Louis Phillipe, then king of France, to paint a copy of Stuart's famous portrait of Washington; the king saying he had seen Stuart at work on the original in his own studio. At a famous reception by Gen. Cass, then minister to France, the king's picture, painted by Healy, was placed between those of Washington and Guizot, and the king boasted next day of his having been placed in such good company.

A list of Mr. Healy's Chicago portraits alone would be too lengthy for this place. The enormous concentration of capital in this city and the attraction of master minds and vast organizing and administrative forces to this spot, must forever make this one of the wonderful capitals of the world, and in future ages those who wish to study the faces of the founders and leaders of Chicago from 1836 to 1886 will look to the canvases.

of Geo. P. A. Healy, as we now look to those of Gilbert Stuart for the celebrated men of 1776-1828.

The fame of many of these Chicago pictures has ceased to have merely a local or family interest, and has become not only National but world wide; and it is safe to predict that one hundred years hence the student of history and the lover of freedom and free institutions the world over will here study with emotion and admiration the Healy portraits of Presidents Lincoln and Grant, Generals Sherman and Sheridan, Admiral Porter, and their contemporaries.

In the same grand salon of the Calumet Club of Chicago where the Dearborn portrait by Stuart now hangs, may be seen the historical picture by Healy, loaned by Mr. Ezra B. McCagg, representing the conference between Lincoln, Grant, Sherman, and Porter on board the president's flagship, *The Queen*, on the 28th of March, 1865, at City Point.

This famous conference, touching the terms to be given to the rebels upon the surrender then deemed imminent and close at hand, is fully described by Gen. Sherman in a letter to Hon. J. N. Arnold, Nov. 28, 1872 (Arnold's "Life of Lincoln," p. 421):

"Though I can not attempt to recall the words spoken by any one of the persons present on that occasion, I know we talked generally about what was to be done when Lee's and Johnston's armies were beaten and dispersed. On this point, Mr. Lincoln was very full; he said that he had long thought of it, that he hoped the end could be reached without more bloodshed, but in any event he wanted us to get the deluded men of the rebel armies disarmed and back to their homes; that he contemplated no revenge, no harsh measures, but quite the contrary, and that their sufferings and hardships in the war would make them the more submissive to law.

"In Chicago, about July of that year, when all the facts were fresh in my mind, I told them to Geo. P. A. Healy, the artist, who was casting about for a subject for an historical painting, and he adopted this interview. Mr. Lincoln was then dead, but Mr. Healy had a portrait which he himself had made at Springfield some five or six years before. \* \* For General Grant, Admiral Porter, and myself he had actual sittings, and I am satisfied the four portraits in this group of Healy's are the best extant. I think Admiral Porter gave Healy a written description of our relative positions in that interview, also the dimensions, shape, and furniture of the cabin of *The Queen*; but the rainbow is Healy's—typical, of course, of the coming peace." \* \* \*

Mr. McCagg says that Mr. Healy made a personal study of the cabin itself before painting the picture.

The original portrait of President Lincoln, alluded to by Gen. Sherman as made before the civil war, is first on the priceless list of pictures dedicated by Mr. Healy as a gift to Chicago, to be placed in the Newberry Library Building after Mr. Healy's death. The citizen of Chicago who remembers that these forty pictures were painted by the genial artist from life, and dwells but for an instant on the scenes and events which those names suggest, can not but be thankful to Boston for producing such a hand and brain. Gen. Grant and Admiral Porter come next on the list to Lincoln, then the king and queen of Roumania, life-sized, and magnificently framed at Bucharest by the royal order as a present to the artist; then our gallant Sheridan; followed by the "plumed knight," orator, and statesman, James G. Blaine; then the Boston historian, Motley, honored the world over; Hart, the sculptor; Archbishop McCloskey; the Boston merchant prince, Nathan Appleton; the refined and eloquent Bishop Duggan; and Lord Lyons, the friend of Gov. Seward, and ambassador from Great Britain all through our civil war; Count Ferdinand de Lesseps, still at 81 delighting the world with his scientific genius; Tiers, the statesman, and Guizot, the French historian of Washington, the prime minister under Louis Phillipe; and Gen. Charles R. Fox, the son of the celebrated Lady Holland.

Add to these varied celebrities the names of Franz Liszt, the distinguished Hungarian musician, Henry M. Stanley, the romantic explorer of Africa, and the Princess of Oldenburg, and you will still have less than half of the treasures which Mr. Healy's munificent store-house will give to Chicago art and history in the Newberry Library Building.

Mr. Perkins, who wrote "The Life and Works of Copley," says that no complete list of Mr. Copley's works had ever been known. Mr. Mason, who wrote "The Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart," says the same about Stuart's works. Mr. McCagg tells me there is no complete list by Mr. Healy or any one else of Mr. Healy's works. All admit that such a list is a desideratum, and having become interested in the subject, I propose to make a catalogue of his works, to be kept by the Chicago Historical Society for the benefit of the public.

I hereby invite all who feel an interest in the subject to send to me a memorandum of any original works of Mr. Healy in their possession or control, with the full name of the subject, when and where painted, and the size of each painting, with any facts, memoirs, or anecdotes illustrating the subject or the life or character of the painter.

94 WASHINGTON STREET,  
CHICAGO, June, 1886.

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